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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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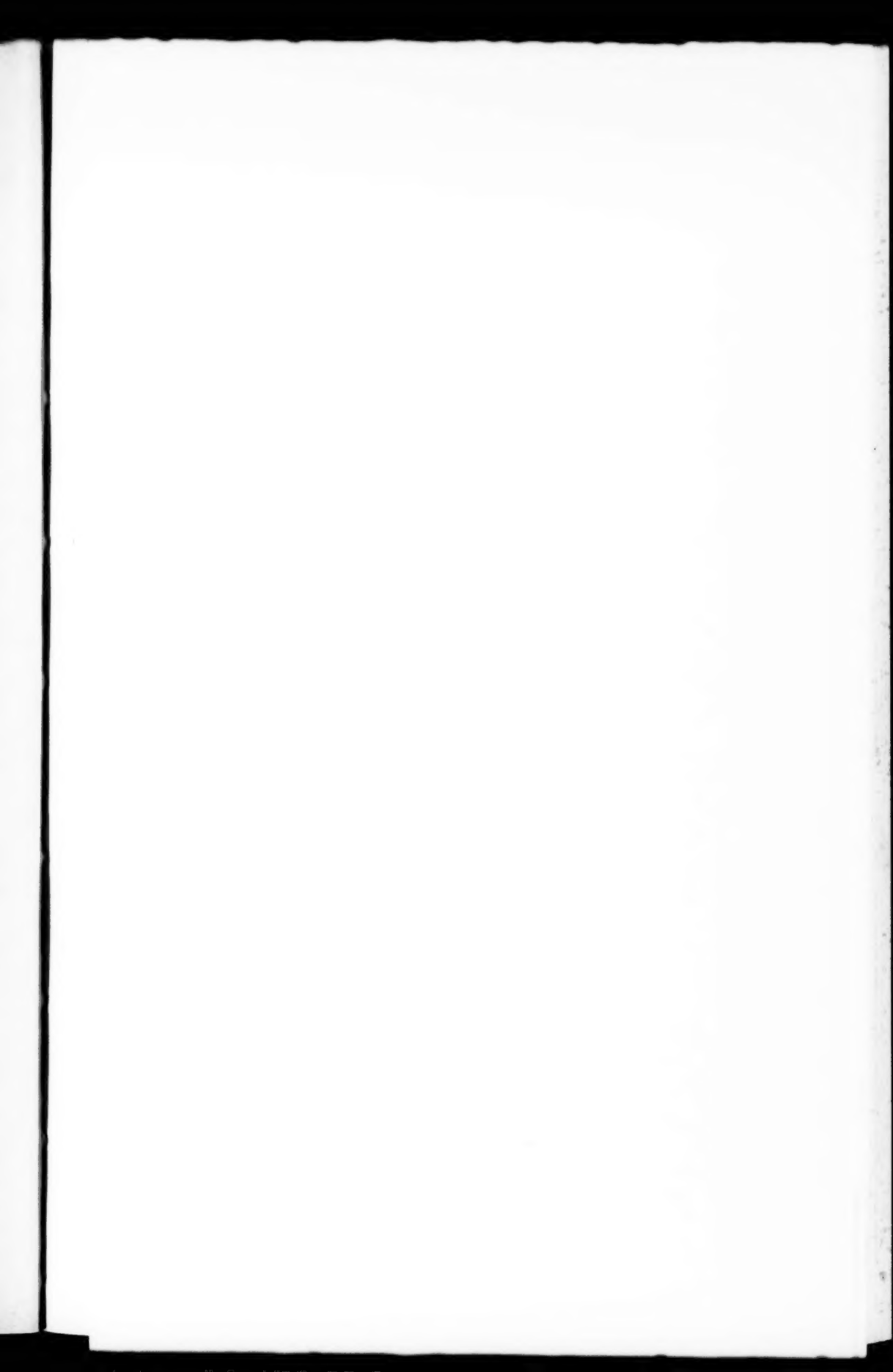
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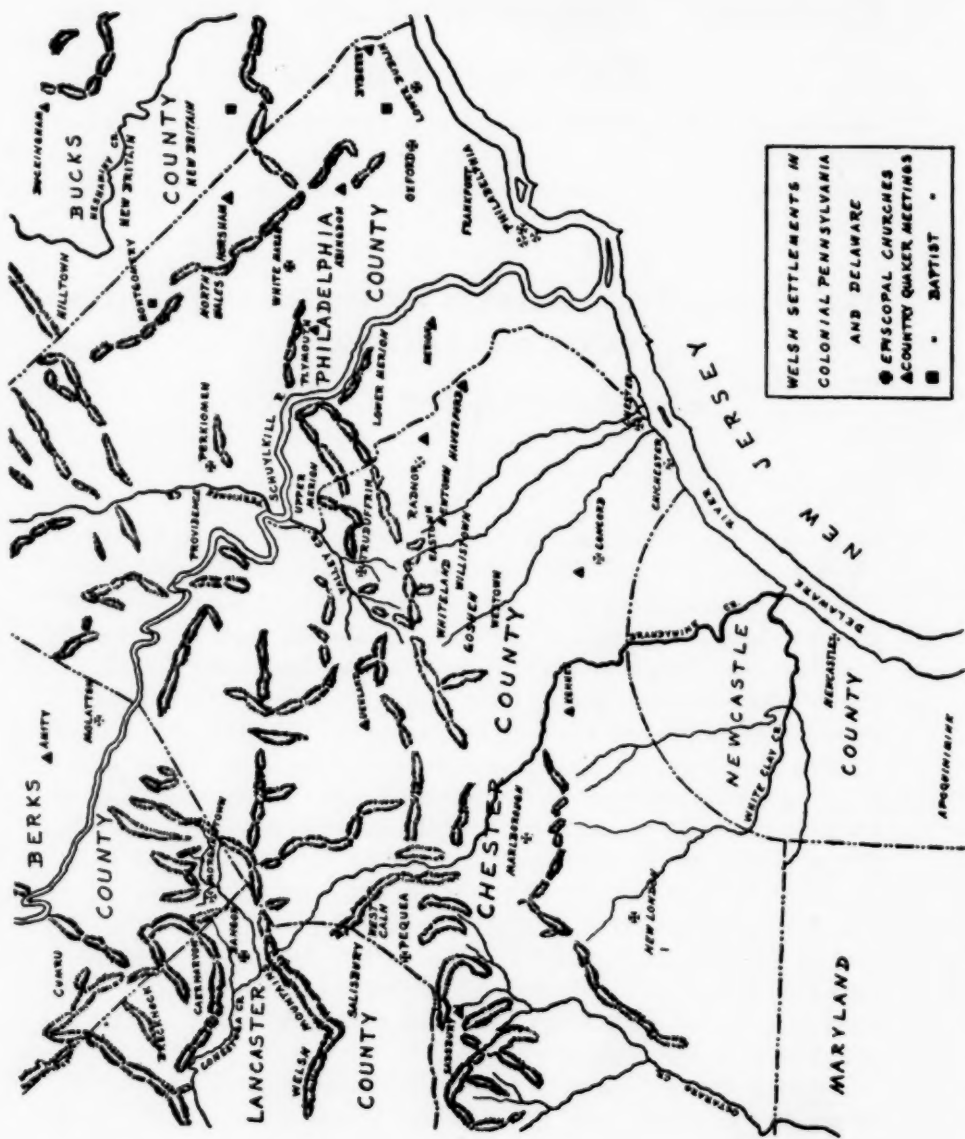
## THE WELSH EPISCOPALIANS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

*By Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D.*

### I.

WE are accustomed to think of Pennsylvania as an "English" colony inhabited largely by shrewd, soft-spoken Quakers with broad-brimmed hats, and by all kinds of "peculiar peoples" from the Rhineland of Germany. We now view its early settlement by a nation older than the English and Christian before the Germans—the Welsh: a people proud of their descent from men who resisted the dominion of Rome and of the Saxon, who had an heroic poetry before English literature began, and organized an independent branch of the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church before there were Archbishops of Canterbury or Popes claiming spiritual and temporal sovereignty over all national churches. "British" they called themselves, those people who lived among the lonely hills and on coasts thronged by surges of the western ocean, where King Arthur died and Tristram watched the rock of Tintagil smoulder in the sunset. They still loved to call themselves "British," when they pressed further west beyond Lyonesse, to the promised land of William Penn, and there sought the comfortable sacraments of their Mother Church.

Few of our text books hint to this misinformed generation that for fifteen or twenty years after Pennsylvania received a name, in 1682, the most numerous immigrants were not the English, the Germans or the Scotch-Irish, but the *Welsh*. We are usually not informed that the greatest Quaker after Fox induced them to migrate overseas to his province. The Quaker evangelists met with notable success in Wales, as some of the foremost ministers of their society were of that country.



To leading Welsh Quakers Penn made certain promises, if they would persuade the members of their meetings to purchase and settle upon his land. The conditions apparently were verbal and unhappy disagreement and controversy resulted. The Welsh, however, maintained that Penn's agreement included a promise that their whole purchase, later called the "Welsh Tract," should be a "barony" or little state, with its own courts using the "British" language. Therefore gentlemen in six counties of Wales promoted the sale of Pennsylvania lands in the monthly Quaker meetings, published Penn's "Articles of Conditions and Concessions" and secured subscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh Quakers requested that their forty thousand acres be laid out in one tract. Under instructions from the surveyor-general in 1684, his deputy David Powel (a Welshman) laid out the great "Welsh Tract," with five thousand acres to each township. According to the bounds, as defined in 1687, the survey included Lower Merion, a portion of Upper Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Tredyffrin, Whiteland, Wil-listown, East Town, Goshen and part of West Town. Only three townships were at first laid out and given Welsh names—Merion, Radnor and Haverford. Later settlement caused the establishment of Goshen, New Town and Uwchland. This "great" or old tract was the original source of Welsh colonization and in it were established the earliest Welsh religious organizations, including the first Welsh Episcopal church.<sup>2</sup>

This was one of several Welsh Tracts. Moved by the offers of Penn and his agents, other Welshmen bought lands, establishing a tract in Chester County, one at Gwynedd or "North Wales" and another in Newcastle County, Delaware. This development was hastened, because at an early date some of the Welsh began to sell out and move to new locations. Second in importance was the "Welsh Tract" in the upper part of old Philadelphia County. Its nucleus was a large area owned by Robert Turner, which was purchased by people from North Wales and so received its name, although sometimes it was called the "Gwynedd Settlement." Immigration took place in 1698 and has been ascribed to the influence of the Quaker minister, Hugh Roberts. The tract comprised a large region north of Philadelphia, and in later times was loosely described as "Montgomery."<sup>3</sup>

Welsh settlement also reached northward into Bucks County. Welsh Quakers reached Richland in 1710 and later extended into Spring-

<sup>1</sup>Fisher, Sydney George, *The Making of Pennsylvania*, pp. 202-204. Browning, Charles H., *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*, pp. 26-27, 316-317, 342. Smith, George, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>2</sup>Browning, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37, 488. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>3</sup>Browning, pp. 37-38, 57, 266. *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. VIII, 1884. Jenkins, Howard M., *The Welsh Settlement at Gwynedd*, pp. 174-176.

field and Durham, and about eight years later Welsh appeared also in Hilltown and New Britain, the latter place being given the name of their motherland. This migration, distinct from the one which peopled the lower portion of the county, was caused chiefly by persecution in Wales. The people of Hilltown and New Britain were Baptists and are said to have had little association with other Welsh immigrants. They were increased by later arrivals until about 1740, when the stream of Welsh settlers practically ceased. The Bucks County Welsh therefore tended to become absorbed, and probably were further diminished by westward migration, which established new settlements beyond the hills in Conestoga.<sup>4</sup>

For many years, however, the old Welsh districts retained a distinctive character, due to typical Welsh pride in family and cultural traditions. From the first they tried to retain their language and customs, and to secure a considerable degree of independence in government, those in the "Great Tract" ruling their "barony" in their own way without the usual county and town officers. The Welsh Quaker meetings exercised civil authority until 1690, when Merion, Haverford and Radnor were organized in the usual way. In 1685, due to jealousy of their compact influence, the provincial administration broke their solidarity by placing Merion in Philadelphia County, Haverford and Radnor in Chester. Being in a minority in both counties hastened their social assimilation, and they resisted by refusing to pay taxes and quit-rents. They were even more annoyed by the opening of the tract to non-Welsh elements.<sup>5</sup>

For a long time the effort to destroy their solidarity was not entirely successful. This is shown by the persistence of a heavy Welsh population in many townships. As late as 1734 considerably over three-quarters of the taxable persons in Upper and Lower Merion were Welsh, and in Gwynedd thirty-nine out of forty-eight resident taxables bore Welsh names, while in Montgomery the proportion was nineteen out of twenty-eight. At that time, within the present Montgomery County, the Welsh were one-fourth of the population, one hundred and eighty-one out of seven hundred and sixty taxables. At a much later date, 1776-1780, the assessment lists for Lower and Upper Merion, Gwynedd, Montgomery and Plymouth gave one hundred and fifty Welsh names out of six hundred and thirty-six taxables, nearly one-fourth.<sup>6</sup>

The same persistence appears in the amazing vitality of the Welsh language in some localities, for about a century after the first settlers.

<sup>4</sup>Battle, J. H., editor, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 281-282.

<sup>5</sup>Browning, pp. 349, 383. Fisher, pp. 204-205.

<sup>6</sup>Bean, Theodore W., editor, *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 140-141.

There is a tradition that when Penn preached to the Welsh Quakers at Haverford, in 1701, very few could understand English. It is claimed, however, that the upper-class Welsh Quakers of Haverford and Merion regularly spoke English because of their superior education. In Radnor many certainly did not understand English, for in 1707 the Episcopalians there wanted a pastor familiar with both languages. In other places, especially in Gwynedd, the Welsh or "British" tongue and Welsh customs lasted for many generations, and many wills and other documents were written in Welsh. In 1712 the subscription paper, to collect funds for rebuilding Gwynedd Quaker meeting-house, was in Welsh, and at that time the ministers were obliged to speak alternately in Welsh and English. Indeed, the Gwynedd region was more Welsh than the "Great Welsh Tract." These settlements sent out many emigrants, who took the old tongue to Conestoga and Caernarvon and still wanted Welsh books.<sup>7</sup>

Eventually Welsh culture yielded to the social and political predominance of English, just as Swedish, Dutch and even German also surrendered. The Welsh, especially in older counties, were engulfed by a great flood of other nationalities and lost their identity in the emerging Americanism. This was true above all among the more cultured, as in the Merion Quaker meeting, where English and Welsh families intermarried at an early date. In the course of time Welsh family names became Anglicized: Ap Humphrey became Pumphrey, Ap Howell appeared as Powell, Ap Hugh changed to Pugh. Welsh place names have remained to the present day, often unchanged, as is apparent to anyone who notices the signs of railroad stations and highways in the old southeastern counties. Merion, Haverford, Wynnewood, Tredyffrin, Eastcaln, Uwchlan, Bryn Mawr, Radnor, St. David's, Berwyn, Gwynedd, Penyllyn, Brecknock, Cumry, Caernarvon, are all on the map. The industrial and political history of the state is liberally seasoned with Welsh family names—Evans, Lewis, Hughes, Powell, Meredith, Cadwalader, Pugh and many others, including the Lloyds, long prominent in Quaker religious and political annals.<sup>8</sup>

## II.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of their settlement, the greater number of Welsh were members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. The Baptists formed the second most numerous group, and the Episcopalians were comparatively few, at least until the beginning of active missions by the Society for the Propagation of the Gos-

<sup>7</sup>Fisher, pp. 202-2 3. Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Browning, pp. 18-19, 574. Smith pp. 180-181.

<sup>8</sup>Browning, pp. 18, 19, 566. Fisher, pp. 202-203, 205-206. Battle, pp. 281-282.

pel. The few Episcopalians among the earliest comers were somewhat increased by later immigration, while the Welsh Quakers, with the lifting of persecution, ceased to come in such large numbers as at first. The Episcopalians in Philadelphia comprised many Welsh, as some left the country towns by abandoning or selling their lots, while others stayed in the city from their arrival, as trades-people. This element in the Quaker capital was the nucleus from which the Church expanded missions among the Welsh.<sup>9</sup>

Penn's charter provided that if a sufficient number of persons should desire the worship of the Church of England, they could not be hindered. From this agreement came the establishment of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1695. Two years later the Reverend Thomas Clayton settled as the first regular pastor, and after his departure the parish was served for a time by Edward Portlock, who had been the first Rector of St. Peter's at Perth Amboy in East Jersey. A more regular ministration began in 1700, when a Welshman, the Reverend Evan Evans, was sent by Bishop Henry Compton of London, that watchful shepherd of the American colonial Church. Supported by the Royal Bounty and by generous contributions from some parishioners, he built up a large congregation, including many Welsh and English who a few years before had followed George Keith in his separation from the Foxian Quakers. Within two years the ordinary congregation of Christ Church numbered over five hundred.<sup>10</sup>

As his fame spread, many "of the better condition," who came in from the country, became better acquainted with the doctrine and ritual of the Church and sowed far and wide a longing for ministrations of the British Mother Church. Among the first to be stirred were the Welsh of the "Tract," and of the North Wales or Gwynedd settlement. At the latter place, in contrast to the usual situation, a majority of the early Welsh were Churchmen. They met in the house of Robert Evans, whose brother Cadwalader conducted services as a lay-reader. In the meantime another Episcopalian group was gathering west of the Schuylkill. Up to 1700 all the people of Merion apparently were Quakers, and this condition persisted for two or three generations, as the original settlers were able to hold their large grants intact. In Radnor, and partly also in Haverford, the lots were smaller and attracted many of the poorer non-Quaker Welsh, including many Episcopalians. These two groups were the earliest Welsh Churchmen outside of Philadelphia to desire regular organization. They were the sources of several other

<sup>9</sup>Fisher, pp. 202-03. Bean, p. 139. Browning, p. 308.

<sup>10</sup>Humphreys, David, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, pp. 146-147. Browning, pp. 322-324. Perry, William Stevens, *Historical Collections Relating to the Amer. Col. Ch.*, Vol. IV, Maryland, pp. 53-54.

Welsh Episcopalian communities. Radnor, however, was the first organized parish with a resident missionary and a church.<sup>11</sup>

As early as 1700 Radnor became a mission under the care of Evan Evans, and services were held at the house of William Davis. In September, 1707, Evans informed the S. P. G. that he had conducted services "in the Welsh language at Radnor once a fortnight for four years past." The church register began on June 8, 1706, with the baptism of Elizabeth, the child of Morgan and Elizabeth Hughes. It is supposed that in 1707-1709 the congregation consisted of about fifty families, and that they had a log church. When Evans could not come, they had Welsh preaching by John Clubb, a schoolmaster in Christ Church Parish, Philadelphia, who later became their first regular minister. Such was the origin of the first Episcopal church west of the Schuylkill River. Closely associated with it was the congregation in North Wales or Gwynedd, which also received visits from Evans. From this large region, which he generally called "Montgomery," grew two other early Welsh churches: Oxford, north of Philadelphia, and Perkiomen to the northwest. For many years the histories of St. David's in Radnor, Trinity Church at Oxford and St. James' at Perkiomen were closely related. Let us trace the course of Radnor Parish, first in association with the others, and then as a separate cure becoming the mother of other churches.<sup>12</sup>

### III.

After Philadelphia, Radnor and "Montgomery" received most of Evans' attention. The people were so stirred by his preaching that about a hundred Episcopalians in Radnor, Haverford and Merion requested the Bishop of London to send a permanent pastor, who could speak both Welsh and English—a *sober* man who would appeal to the Quakers. They spoke of the large number of Welsh in those towns and nearby places, who had been brought up in the Church, but had fallen away to Quaker meetings rather than live without religion, and were ready to return to the fold. The same zeal animated the people at Oxford, where the congregation consisted chiefly of the young. They built a neat and convenient little church and subscribed £20 a year for the minister's salary. As at Radnor, this resulted from occasional visits and preaching by Evans and other clergymen.<sup>13</sup>

In response to this plea the S. P. G. established the first regular Welsh mission, consisting of Oxford and Radnor, about twenty miles

<sup>11</sup>Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-149. Browning, pp. 322-324, 584-585.

<sup>12</sup>Browning, pp. 322-324, 584-585. Humphreys, pp. 148, 149. Perry, William Stevens, editor, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 33.

<sup>13</sup>Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 35. Humphreys, pp. 149, 155-159.

apart. The minister appointed to this enormous cure was the Reverend John Clubb, who already was well known. He arrived in 1714 and was received with great kindness, especially by the people at Radnor, who thanked the Society warmly and renewed their promise to give him their best assistance. As an evidence of zeal and good faith, they commenced the little stone church still standing among the graves of the ancient Welsh. The cornerstone was laid with ceremony on May 9, 1715. Owing to the smallness and poverty of the congregation, the church was many years in reaching completion. There was no floor until 1765, the vestry house was erected in 1767, the gallery in 1772. During the Revolutionary War it sheltered American soldiers, while services were suspended. Today it appears about as it did then: a small, simple chapel of rough hewn stone, with an outside staircase to the gallery which is said to be unique in this country. The Oxford church already had been built, and was dedicated in 1711 in the presence of several clergymen, including the Swedish pastors on the Delaware.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Clubb deserves more than a passing mention. He is described as "very earnest in all Parts of his Ministerial office, and very successful in his Labours, and happy in engaging the Love and Esteem of all his People." Like many another missionary, he was worn down by fatigue, and from the extremities of weather he contracted repeated illnesses and died in 1715. The people sincerely missed him and the Wardens expressed their grief in a letter to the Society.<sup>15</sup>

Left without a ministry, the churches begged for another missionary. The Society, whose treasury was not exactly bursting, suggested that *they* might provide for a resident minister. They replied that they were new settlers in the wilderness, had not even paid for their homes and probably would not get out of debt for years. Taking pity on them and having faith in their "good Disposition," the Society sent the Reverend Mr. Wayman as missionary to Oxford and Radnor. The Society was not disappointed, for Oxford purchased a house, an orchard and sixty-three acres for the minister, and Radnor pledged £40 proclamation money a year to support a pastor to preach in Welsh. Wayman proved worthy of their confidence, being a diligent missionary. He began week-day trips to distant Welsh settlements which later became flourishing missions. He often visited remote Conestoga, about forty miles west of Radnor, and referred to the growing congregation at Whitmarsh, about ten miles from Oxford, who had already built a good

<sup>14</sup>Humphreys, pp. 155-159. S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings, 1714*, p. 28. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-73, 74-76, 77-78. Browning, pp. 584-585. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVII, 1903. Fisher, George Harrison, *Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia*, p. 285.

<sup>15</sup>Humphreys, pp. 155-159. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

stone church and wanted a minister. Church members continually increased and in one year he baptized over seventy children.<sup>16</sup>

The persistent Welsh character of Radnor Parish appeared in 1723, when Wayman recommended a mature minister with a good knowledge of Welsh, to reside there and visit from house to house as the best way of bringing people to church. He stated that many inclined to the Church could not be won by mere itinerant preaching. The Pennsylvania clergy specially mentioned Radnor's need and in 1725 Wayman again pressed for a resident missionary to converse with the people "in their own British Dialect," as many were strangers to English. In 1728 he reported about sixty families in Radnor, scattered and rather poor and without a parochial school. An interesting sidelight on the parish's condition flashes from a letter of 1730 by a Welshman, Rowland Jones, who wanted a position as schoolmaster. He said Radnor was thinly peopled, with very few Churchmen, being far exceeded in that respect by East Town and Newton. Many Welsh families had come in, especially in the last two or three years, but were mostly very poor.<sup>17</sup>

After Wayman's removal poor Radnor had such hard times that in 1731 Commissary Archibald Cummings wrote that the parish urgently needed a Welsh missionary. In 1732 the people of St. David's were *impatiently* expecting him. The long sought pastor, Griffith Hughes, was very kindly received, especially by the Welsh. Following a suggestion by his predecessor, he visited the parishioners in their homes to secure them from corrupt teachings. Since Oxford had been detached from Radnor, he had charge of "Perquihoma" (Perkiomen), and attended both places every week, preaching and catechizing every Sunday. He continued services in growing Welsh settlements beyond the hills and so helped to lay the foundation of new churches. He complained bitterly that religion was seriously hindered by lack of Welsh books, for which the faithful "daily" importuned him. His greatest sorrow was that he was the only priest officiating in Welsh and could not minister to "many thousands" of Welsh in the province.<sup>18</sup>

His successor was a good and faithful servant of Holy Church, the Reverend William Currie, who was pastor of Radnor and nearby places during the rest of the provincial period. He was a strictly orthodox Anglican, breasting the wild current of extreme Calvinist preaching inspired by Whitefield and Gilbert Tennant. He was appointed missionary to Radnor and Perkiomen at £60 a year—and he earned it. One

<sup>16</sup>S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1720, pp. 49-50; 1722, pp. 43-44. Humphreys, pp. 155-159.

<sup>17</sup>Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 131-133, 144-145, 162-165, 168-171.

<sup>18</sup>S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1730, p. 89; 1734, pp. 53-54; 1735, p. 47. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 180-181, 188-189, 191-192. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXIV, 1900. Owen, Benjamin F., *Letters of the Rev. Griffith Hughes, of St. David's Church, Radnor, Penna., 1733-1736*, pp. 139, 141-146, 148.

of his first cares was to mend the ravages of whirlwind exhorters in the "Great Awakening," using a box of books sent by the Society in 1741. He soon rejoiced that all "who had left the Church to follow the new Preachers" had returned, and that the number of communicants at Radnor was the same as before and had increased at Perkiomen.<sup>19</sup>

Aside from the regular cures, he fostered a promising offshoot of the old stock, in "Great Valley," over the hills west of Radnor. In 1745 the Society gladly announced the opening of a new church called "Saint Peter's in the Valley," where Currie officiated monthly to a large and regular congregation. This parish included the charming region about Valley Creek, in Truduffrin, and was peopled largely by the Welsh. Currie's report of March, 1752, shows the increasing numbers and prosperity of his churches, which continued two years later, in spite of his bad health. Under his care St. David's and St. Peter's were fairly prosperous until the Revolutionary agitations nearly blasted Anglicanism in the country districts. In 1759 he wrote that the people of St. Peter's had recently "put the last hand" to a large gallery, to accommodate the crowds at his preaching. St. David's was being repaired through a gift of £50 from "a religious young Man" who had died a while ago.<sup>20</sup>

As the finger of old age touched him, in 1760 he complained of ill health and hinted that he would like to retire on a pension or to a less burdensome mission. Although he had served more than twenty-three years, his support was poor and he had not even a regular dwelling, his sole dependence being upon the Society. His congregations were large, especially at Radnor and in the Valley, but he thought they were "very careless and lukewarm." Shortly afterward a convention of Pennsylvania clergy praised him to the Society as "much esteemed" in his mission and performing his duty as far as health permitted. In 1763 he was more cheerful, noting that the congregations were growing daily. His report of 1764 illuminates the religious condition of Radnor and shows the relative strength of the Church. The township had two thousand people, including four hundred professed Churchmen and fifteen hundred and fifty Dissenters. In 1775 he was still ministering to a somewhat declining parish. Two years later his report was one of only three from Pennsylvania, as the Revolution was breaking communications with the Motherland. Grown feeble in the service of his Master, he soon passed away, and the trumpets must have sounded for him

In that whiter island, where  
Things are evermore sincere.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1736, p. 51; 1741/2, pp. 51-52.

<sup>20</sup>S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1745, p. 50; 1753, p. 50; 1755, p. 53; 1760, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup>S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1761, pp. 54-55; 1765, p. 81; 1774, p. 39; 1775, p. 42; 1776, pp. 29-30; 1777, p. 74. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282, 315, 352. The quotation is from *Devotional Poets of The XVII Century*, "The White Island," by Robert Herrick.

## IV.

His long and devoted ministry promoted the security not only of St. David's and St. Peter's, but also of St. James' Church at Perkiomen, anciently called "Perquihoma." This parish, long associated with Radnor, has a peculiar history. The Welsh were a large if not predominant element there in the early eighteenth century, but by 1738 apparently were being absorbed by English culture. The parish originated in a settlement established by Edward Lane, who in 1698 bought twenty-five hundred acres. He was a Quaker, but with many others turned to the Church of England when George Keith split the meetings. Perkiomen soon became a rather numerous Welsh community, and Welsh names abound in lists of early parishioners. Lane patented his tract in 1701 and probably was influential in starting Anglican services.<sup>22</sup>

The first to preach at Perkiomen in Welsh was Evan Evans, who used to call the place "Montgomery," a name loosely given to the whole Welsh settlement east of the Schuylkill and north of Philadelphia. A crude old map of the northern colonies in Humphreys' "Historical Account" of the S. P. G. shows a "Montgomery" probably intended to represent modern Perkiomen, although wrongly placed west instead of east from the Schuylkill. In 1709 Evans wrote that he would soon preach at "Perguoman," which he called a new settlement, and would baptize a family of sixteen Quakers. There might have been a primitive church organization there at the time.<sup>23</sup>

Parish life did not flourish until about 1720, when the Wardens and Vestry of Radnor asked the Bishop of London to settle a Welsh minister for them and Perkiomen, where a church was being erected. This was the first really permanent edifice, probably succeeding a log church. The old stone church, completed in 1721, stood in a cemetery opposite the present one, which was erected in 1843, partly from the old stone. The will of William Lane, January 8, 1732-3, gave forty-two acres to support St. James' Church. This tract became commonly known as the "Glebe." The formal parish records in the Vestry book begin with a meeting on October 2, 1737.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the colonial age St. James' generally was associated with St. David's in the mission of "Radnor and Perquihoma." Evans

<sup>22</sup>Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, 1925. Scofield, Rev. Charles F., *Supplementary History of St. James' Church, Perkiomen*, p. 366. Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XIX, 1895. Barrow, Rev. A. J., "St. James's, Perkiomen," pp. 87-89. Mont. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, 1925. Williams, I. C., *St. James Church, Perkiomen, Evansburg*, pp. 354, 355.

<sup>23</sup>Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Scofield, *op. cit.*, p. 367. Humphreys, *Historical Account*, map. opp. p. 144.

<sup>24</sup>Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-356, 363. Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Scofield, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

and Wayman were followed by Griffith Hughes, from 1733 to 1736. Although Welsh culture was still prominent in 1726, the last reference to Welsh services occurred during his time. In the next forty years St. James' was served by the faithful William Currie, who became lay-reader at Radnor and Perkiomen in 1736 and resigned in 1776 rather than omit prayers for the king. In 1765 he moved to Perkiomen because the congregation was larger than at Radnor. The parish apparently increased and flourished until the Revolution, when it suffered from the usual interruption of services. After 1780 it was revived by the ministries of John Wade and Slator Clay. In 1788 it was incorporated as "The Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of the Episcopal Congregation of St. James's Church, Perkiomen, in the Township of New Providence and County of Montgomery."<sup>25</sup>

## V.

Oxford soon became an independent mission generally linked with Whitemarsh. This split was caused partly by the distance from Radnor, partly by the fact that Oxford was less Welsh than Radnor and Perkiomen, which had a natural relation. George Keith stated that there was no settled congregation at Oxford until after his return in 1702, but there can be little doubt that services began previously. In fact 1700 probably should be the latest date for the establishment of Trinity Church. A deed of December 30, 1700, from Thomas Graves, gave three acres for the "Use and service of those of the Communion of our Holy Mother, the Church of England." Evan Evans and his assistant, Mr. Thomas, officiated at Oxford, and at other times there were services by Mr. Clubb, the schoolmaster of Christ Church, Philadelphia. About 1704 the Society began to consider a regular minister for Oxford or "Frankfort," and in 1707 Evans reported that for the first four years after his arrival (1700) he frequently preached there and administered baptism and Holy Communion. The congregation numbered one hundred and forty, mostly converts from Quakerism, the Baptists and other denominations.<sup>26</sup>

The first regular minister was the Reverend Andrew Rudman, pastor of Gloria Dei Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, to whom the Episcopal Church owed much of its early growth in Pennsylvania. When the church was formally opened in 1713, the Swedish missionaries Björk and Sandel assisted with several Episcopal clergymen. After

<sup>25</sup>*Scofield, op. cit.*, pp. 367, 368. *Barrow*, pp. 88, 93, 94. *Williams, op. cit.*, pp. 358, 359, 360, 361-362, 364.

<sup>26</sup>*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVII, 1903, *Fisher, George Harrison, Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia*, pp. 280-281, 285. *S. P. G., Abs. of Proc.*, 1704/5.

brief ministrations by Mr. Humphreys, missionary at Chester, Mr. Clubb was appointed pastor of Oxford and Radnor and served until his death in 1715. Evans and Humphreys then resumed charge, the latter without compensation. In 1716 the Wardens and Vestry begged for another missionary, hoping to raise £20 a year and to provide a house and farm. Two years later they warned that the people were beginning to slip away from lack of pastoral care, as there was only a school-master acting as lay-reader.<sup>27</sup>

With the appointment of Robert Wayman in 1719, affairs began to look up, and in 1724 the parish bought him a house, an orchard and a glebe, between Holmesburg and Frankford. The tie with Radnor was severed, as he wanted to serve Whitemarsh, which was much nearer. In 1731 he became Rector of Saint Mary's in Burlington, New Jersey, and in 1733 was succeeded by Mr. Howie. Within a year the congregation outgrew the church and converts were won, but in 1739 and 1741 he lamented damage by the preaching of Whitefield. Upon his going to the West Indies the parish fell to Aeneas Ross, son of George Ross, the veteran missionary at Newcastle, Delaware. In 1744 and 1745 both churches were flourishing, generally crowded on Sunday. In the pastorate of Hugh Neill Oxford church was improved in 1759, and in 1760 both buildings were as packed as ever. In 1766 Neill took a Maryland parish and was succeeded by the distinguished Doctor William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, who remained until 1777. In his time Oxford church was re-roofed, and in 1772 a new church sprang up in the parish, called All Saints, Lower Dublin. In 1787 the long and intimate association of the three congregations was cemented by a charter granted to the "United Episcopal Churches of Trinity Church in Oxford Township, All Saints Church in Lower Dublin Township, Philadelphia County, and St. Thomas's Church in White Marsh Township, Montgomery County." The parishes finally were made separate corporations in 1835.<sup>28</sup>

## VI.

By far the most interesting Welsh mission in Pennsylvania included the great settlement in Lancaster and Berks Counties, far away beyond the "Welsh Mountains." The westward movement has been described as "a second effort of the Welsh to be alone." The first settlers were largely children of the first comers, and in 1718 and 1719 entered what was then Conestoga Township in Chester County, in the valley of Conestoga Creek. The first settlement dated from November

<sup>27</sup>Fisher, *op. cit. ante*, pp. 285-286, 288, 289. See also references for Radnor.

<sup>28</sup>Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 289-294. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1730/31, p. 89; 1734/5, pp. 54-55; 1744/5, p. 50; 1760, pp. 54-55; 1767, p. 57; 1769, p. 28; 1771, p. 28.

5, 1718, when Cadwallader Ellis had surveyed five hundred acres east of the later village of Morgantown. By 1720 several thousand acres in that region had been allotted to Welshmen, and by 1735 the valley had been surveyed, occupied and largely patented. Chiefly because of these settlers, Lancaster County was established in 1729.<sup>29</sup>

During the same period Welsh were pressing northwestward into the southern portion of the present Berks County, and before 1740 several hundred had located beyond "South Mountain." By 1752 their lands included twenty thousand acres, mostly along and near Wyomissing and Cacoosing Creeks. The extent of their settlement appears in the Welsh names of townships along the present southern line of Berks County: Caernarvon, settled in 1700, erected in 1729; Brecknock, settled in 1729, created in 1741; and Cumru, settled in 1732, made a township in 1737. They were named for districts in Wales. The Welsh soon displayed their powerful influence by helping the numerous Germans to obtain the new County of Berks, carved from the upper portions of Lancaster and Philadelphia Counties. This settlement became one of the most interesting colonial missions of the Anglican Church. It was one of several instances which disprove the prevalent idea that the Episcopal Church did not appeal to the frontier.<sup>30</sup>

Although many of the Welsh were Quakers and Baptists, a respectable portion were Episcopalians who soon began to demand missionaries. Their first pastor probably was Robert Wayman of Radnor and Perkiomen, who visited as often as he could. After he left Pennsylvania in 1731, the people were left pastorless. In 1734 they asked the Society for Welsh books and rejoiced in their new minister, "our dear countryman, Mr. Hughes." Under his ministry the western Welsh mission assumed a more permanent form.<sup>31</sup>

Griffith Hughes started his mission in 1732 at Radnor and Perkiomen, but soon began monthly visits to Pequea, Caernarvon and Tulpehocken. For a long time he had no other temple than the shade of a large tree, as houses were too small to hold the crowds. He officiated monthly at Bangor in Caernarvon, in Welsh and English. The hardships of long journeys broke down his health, for sometimes he suffered from lack of common necessities and slept under a tree. Eventually he had to bow to the will of his physician and secure a parish in the milder climate of Barbadoes. He had to abandon his fine farm on Cacoosing Creek in Berks County, near the village of Sinking Springs.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>*Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. VII, No. 4, Owen, B. F., Tradition vs. Fact—Bangor Church, pp. 50 et seq.*

<sup>30</sup>*Montgomery, Morton L., Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania, Vol. I, pp. 19, 308-309.*

<sup>31</sup>*Perry, op. cit., ante, pp. 188-189, 191-192. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., p. 89.*

<sup>32</sup>*Owen, op. cit., pp. 52, 53. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1734, pp. 53-54; 1735, p. 47; 1736, p. 51. Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XXIV, 1900, Letters of Rev. Griffith Hughes, pp. 141-148.*

For some years the only regular church for the western Welsh was St. John's at Pequea, a little east of the Lancaster-Chester line in West Caln Township. The congregation lived in the townships of "Pequay" (Pequea), Lancaster County, and Salisbury, Chester County. A log church erected in 1729 was replaced in 1753 by a stone one more than twice as large. It was served by several missionaries, including Richard Backhouse of Chester and John Blackhall before 1750; George Craig, 1751-1769; and the tireless Thomas Barton, who ministered to several congregations. Some Welsh people came to St. John's before the formal organization of their own church in Caernarvon about 1744-48.<sup>33</sup>

In the meantime Welsh occupation on the borders of Lancaster and Berks had been steadily growing and demanding more attention from the missionaries. In 1733 came the usual frontier log church and five years later ten acres were given for another. This church was called "Bangor" for a diocese in Wales and stood in the village later known as Churchtown, a few miles south of the Berks County line, in Caernarvon Township, Lancaster County. In 1754 and 1755 the neighboring Welsh subscribed generously for a new church of stone, located about a hundred feet east of the present one. In 1759 Nathan Evans and his wife conveyed the glebe and church to the Wardens for the benefit of the minister and congregation.<sup>34</sup>

This parish soon began to establish the usual offshoots. One of the members, Thomas Morgan, who lived in Caernarvon Township, Berks County, gave an acre and ordered his executors to build a church there, also ninety-three acres to help pay for the building and support the minister. The new church, a small stone chapel, was dedicated to St. Thomas by the missionary to Bangor, Thomas Barton, on August 4, 1765. He hoped it would attract many nearby Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, who had no stated places of worship or settled preachers. He planned to serve on week-days, as the churches at Lancaster, Caernarvon and Pequea would not miss him on Sundays. He also preached at St. Thomas' on Sunday evenings when visiting Bangor church. Later a school was established in the chapel and continued until after the Revolution.<sup>35</sup>

The chapel finally became too small for the congregation, and inaccessible in winter or when the Conestoga Creek was in flood. In 1786 they secured an act allowing them to sell the lot and the glebe, to invest the proceeds for the benefit of the chapel ministry, and to move the church building and the schoolhouse to "Morgan's Town" in Caer-

<sup>33</sup>Ellis, Franklin, and Evans, *Samuel, History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 1048-1049.

<sup>34</sup>Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

narvon Township, Berks County. The removal occurred in 1792, the chapel being set up on a lot given by Jacob Morgan. A new edifice was erected in 1824.<sup>36</sup>

The western Welsh mission became one of the most prosperous ever established in Pennsylvania. Through the reports of successive missionaries we can trace its steady growth to a height of activity just before the Revolution. As early in 1746 Richard Locke, itinerant missionary on the frontier, noted the very regular Bangor congregation as mostly Welsh, about a hundred souls with generally twenty communicants. They had a rude church "of square Logs," fifty acres purchased for repairing it, and a hundred more to maintain a clergyman, with subscriptions of from £15 to £20 annually. In 1747 he was visiting there generally once in two weeks.<sup>37</sup>

His successor, George Craig, literally wore himself out in caring for the frontier churches, particularly the remote Welsh congregations. In 1752 he reported twenty-seven communicants at Bangor church, wrote the Society for church Bibles and Prayer Books, and was busy catechizing the children—who not for the first or last time really knew more than was expected! Caernarvon Parish had grown to two hundred and forty souls. Three years later he rejoiced that the people were rebuilding their church of stone. The burdens of this mission finally overwhelmed him, and in 1758 the Society announced his appointment to the easier cure of St. Paul's Church at Chester.<sup>38</sup>

The load fell upon the strong back of Thomas Barton, one of the most remarkable missionaries of the S. P. G. in America. For twenty years he fostered the widely scattered churches at Lancaster, Pequea, Caernarvon and Morgantown, travelling thousands of miles in hilly country and in all kinds of weather. He frequently mentioned his ministry to the Welsh, for whom he apparently had a strong affection. They responded nobly and by the close of 1759 Caernarvon Parish was finishing the new stone church "in an handsome Manner." In 1761 he as handsomely praised the poor people who had done this "without the least Assistance from the Publick . . . many Persons, who were contented to dwell in the meanest Huts" having contributed their mites. In June, 1762, Bangor Church was completed: a monument to Welsh faith, patience and generosity. Especially notable was the devotion of Nathan Evans, an old gentleman who from an estate acquired by hard labor, gave £100 for completing the building, a valuable glebe of forty acres to support the minister, and further endowments to guarantee the

<sup>36</sup>Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>37</sup>Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XXIV, 1900, Letters of Rev. Richard Locke and Rev. George Craig, pp. 468-471, 472-475.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 476-478. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1753, p. 51; 1755, p. 53; 1758, p. 46.

support of Mr. Barton and his successor in the ministry of Bangor Church.<sup>39</sup>

The parish steadily increased in numbers as well as in material wealth. In November, 1764, it comprised between fifty and sixty families "all of Welsh Extraction," and about forty communicants. People of different denominations frequently swelled the congregation to five hundred. In 1766 he was building up his parishes on a solid foundation, by visiting the families and by lecturing and catechizing the children. This close personal bond between him and the people later helped him to weather the storm of civil conflict. In 1770 Caernarvon Parish was flourishing and four years later all his churches generally were full. The endless demands of that mission were beginning to take their usual toll of health, and the work was increasing beyond his strength.<sup>40</sup>

In 1776 the Society issued the disquieting report that his churches were in "as good a condition as the distracted state of affairs will allow." Soon the full tempest of revolution swept upon the western mission, confining him to his house for two years and finally compelling him to flee, leaving his eight children and his beloved flock, for he would not acknowledge laws requiring him to flout allegiance to the king. The congregations at Pequea and Caernarvon showed their loyalty by paying his back salary; by giving him a present of £50, and by providing a home for his children. He returned this devotion by holding secret meetings of women and children on the county line, when not allowed to leave Lancaster County or to meet with the men.<sup>41</sup>

## VII.

The "Welsh Tracts" in Pennsylvania were not the only ones to affect the growth of the Church. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Penn granted a tract of thirty thousand acres in the southern part of his territory. About three quarters of it lay in Pencader Hundred of Newcastle County, Delaware, the remainder in the present Cecil County, Maryland. The circumstance was due to a lengthy dispute over the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, between Penn and the proprietors of Maryland. It was intended to divide the land among settlers from South Wales, who came over in 1701 and occupied the tract in 1703.<sup>42</sup>

These people were Baptists, who established their church before leaving Milford Haven in South Wales. At first they lived around Penne-

<sup>39</sup>S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1760, p. 57; 1762, p. 59; 1763, p. 72; 1764, p. 91.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 1766, p. 33; 1768, p. 60. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 449, 467.

<sup>41</sup>S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1776, p. 47; 1779, pp. 58-59.

<sup>42</sup>*Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, XLII, *Records of the Welsh Tract Baptist Meeting, &c.*, pp. 3-5, 8, in Part I.

pack in Pennsylvania and became members of the Baptist church of Pennepack and Philadelphia. After moving to their lands in the Newcastle County tract, they built a meeting house in 1706 and in 1710 formally adopted their solemn church covenant. Like their countrymen in Pennsylvania, they long cherished their language and customs. The Baptist meeting kept its records in Welsh for some time and had Welsh preaching until about 1800.<sup>43</sup>

Although Baptists predominated, there was a strong Episcopalian minority among the Delaware Welsh, particularly in Apoquinimink in the southern part of Newcastle County. They were visited at first by their restless countryman, Evan Evans, although they lived about sixty-five miles from his home. About 1704 the Society considered the need of a resident minister, and in 1707 Evans recommended a Welsh missionary for the whole region between Apoquinimink and Newcastle. George Ross, the pastor at Newcastle, had been serving there, but was unsatisfactory because of his ignorance of Welsh. Upon Evans' recommendation, Apoquinimink was made a Welsh mission under the care of Mr. Jenkins, who could speak the "British" tongue fluently. It was hoped that this would keep the faithful in communion with the Church and win back others who had been "seduced."<sup>44</sup>

This mission lived up to expectations by creating a permanent group of loyal Welsh Churchmen in northern Delaware. During his brief ministry Jenkins inspired enough zeal to maintain the Church through early trials and later vacancies in the mission. His appointment evidently was none too soon, for in 1708 he wrote that with a delay of six months, "without a special providence and preventing Grace of God, it would not have been above three that would sincerely be of her Communion, whereas we have now some hundreds in the Town (i. e., Newcastle) and Country, that are of the Church of England. . . ." Their great distance from Newcastle prevented their coming to church every Sunday, so he met them every two weeks about twelve miles from town. On the second occasion there were about eighty, including many Welsh, whom he agreed to visit every three weeks in the "Welsh Tract." In and around Newcastle County he found about forty Welsh families, who had been divided among Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists, for want of an Episcopal minister to preach in Welsh, the only language most of them understood. His efforts to win them were so successful that the Baptist preacher promised to give up the meeting-house and be one of his congregation. Jenkins was cut off in the midst

<sup>43</sup>*Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, XLII, Records of the Welsh Tract Baptist Meeting, &c., Vol. II, Part II, p. 3.*

<sup>44</sup>Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 150. *S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1704/5, under general recommendations of missionaries. Perry, Pap. rel. to Hist. of Ch. in Penna., pp. 35-36.*

of his hopes, dying in the following year, generally lamented by the people.<sup>45</sup>

His parishioners won the Society's respect by their sincere loyalty to the Church through many discouragements. They erected a church about 1705, long before they had a settled pastor, and had occasional services by Mr. Sewall from Maryland and Mr. Crawford, the missionary in Dover Hundred, Kent County. Jenkins' ministry gathered a congregation of about two hundred "very constant Hearers," including some earnest communicants and a great many adults who desired baptism. The Vestry, while mourning his death, commented on the "flourishing Condition" of the parish at his death.<sup>46</sup>

As other places were clamoring for attention, there was a long vacancy, with monthly visits by Erick Björk, pastor of Holy Trinity Swedish Lutheran Church at Christina (Wilmington). There were also occasional ministrations by Mr. Clubb, schoolmaster in Philadelphia; George Ross of Emanuel Church in Newcastle; and other S. P. G. missionaries. So matters continued until 1715, when the clergy deplored the vacancy. The Society then appointed Mr. Merry and Mr. Campbell, who served for short periods. The mission revived under their most welcome successor, Mr. Hacket, who in 1731 wrote that the church was flourishing, the people very orderly and devout. The building was in perfect repair and the Vestry seemed ready to purchase a glebe and build a parsonage. His successor, Mr. Pugh, was encouraged by the parish's condition in 1736-7, as the congregation was large and seemed likely to increase. The "Awakening" naturally caused many defections, but by 1741-2 some of them were returning, and a few years later great numbers of Dissenters were thronging the church.<sup>47</sup>

When Mr. Pugh died, "worn out with his pious Labours," the Society appointed as his successor Mr. Philip Reading, son of a distinguished Librarian of Sion College. He served this mission during the rest of the colonial period. During the first year he reported large congregations, "very steady in their Attendance on the sacred Ordinances," and converts from other denominations. His report in 1750 was equally encouraging, and fourteen years later he noted the very hopeful appearance of religion and an increasing attachment to the Church. The old church became much too small, and when the subscription for a new one was started, more than £500 was raised in a few days and a prominent family gave a lot for the building and a cemetery. By 1773 the church was finished and crowded. Six years later

<sup>45</sup>Perry, William Stevens, editor, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. V, Delaware, p. 11. *Pap. rel. to Hist. of Ch. in Penna.*, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup>Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 161-162. S. P. G., *Abs. of Proc.*, 1730/31, p. 89; 1731/2, p. 50; 1741/2, pp. 50-51; 1737/8, pp. 41-42; 1744/5, p. 51.

the Society announced Reading's death after a service of thirty-four years "with great credit to himself, and utility to his people."<sup>48</sup>

Another strongly Welsh parish was Emanuel Church, Newcastle, which originated about 1689 and twenty years later dedicated a church. In 1705 the Society noted the need of a missionary there and described the congregation as "mostly" Welsh, probably including the country members. The first missionary, appointed in 1705, was George Ross, who became one of the Society's oldest veterans. He ministered to many country people, including some Welsh, who used to come as far as twelve miles. He preached monthly at Apoquinimink when the mission was vacant, and took care of St. James' Chapel at Whiteclay Creek, about ten or eleven miles west of Newcastle. St. James' was built in 1716, "as fair an Oratory as any not built of Brick, in that Government," and was endowed with a glebe of ten acres, by a wealthy parishioner.<sup>49</sup>

Emanuel Church flourished, as the congregation evidently was unusually generous. They subscribed about £48 annually, in addition to the Society's salary, and several contributed toward an endowment. In 1730 the parish never had been more vigorous in a spiritual sense, having a considerable number of regular and devout communicants, and careful instruction for many children. Three years later Ross commented that Episcopalians were increasing about Newcastle, and that he had recently formed a congregation of new settlers about twenty miles away, promising to visit them once a month. He was succeeded by his son Aeneas, his former assistant, who served as Rector of Emanuel Church until the Revolution. At one time he also ministered by request at St. James' in Whiteclay Creek. In 1764 he made a report which shows a surprising strength of the Welsh and other Episcopalians in that region. Newcastle had over six hundred inhabitants, including one hundred and twenty professed members of the Church of England, sixteen Roman Catholics and five hundred Protestant Dissenters. The Church therefore comprised about twenty per cent of the people, a far higher proportion than it has in the same region today.<sup>50</sup>

### VIII.

An inclination to consider the Episcopal Church in colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware as "English" is soon corrected by the documents, which reveal the startling fact that to a large extent it was Welsh.

<sup>48</sup>*S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1745/6, p. 49; 1747/8, p. 61; 1750/51, p. 52; 1765, p. 79; 1766, p. 31; 1773, p. 31; 1779, p. 5.*

<sup>49</sup>*Humphreys, op. cit., pp. 163-165. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1704/5, general recommendations of missionaries.*

<sup>50</sup>*Humphreys, pp. 164-165. S. P. G., Abs. of Proc., 1730, p. 41; 1733, p. 45; 1761, pp. 33-34; 1765, pp. 78-79.*

At least five congregations—Radnor, Perkiomen, Truduffrin, Caernarvon (Bangor) and Morgantown—were practically all Welsh. There was a strong Welsh element in several others, including Philadelphia, Oxford, Pequea, Newcastle, Whiteclay Creek and Apoquinimink. This is matter of reflection for any who still persist in thinking of the colonial Episcopalians as an exclusive and insular "English" sect rather than a part of the Holy Catholic Church of all nations. The Church which extended the hand of fellowship to the Swedes, also welcomed the Welsh, one of the world's oldest Christian nations.

The Welsh Churchmen made several interesting and valuable contributions to the colonial Church. Foremost was their loyalty, shown when many returned after lapsing, and by the later return of a large number who had been misled through misguided "enthusiasm." They often displayed a marked devotion to primitive customs, such as house visiting by the pastor and catechizing the young in essential doctrines. Many practiced a vital and personal piety, for some of the missionaries' reports reveal an astonishing number of regular communicants in regions generally noted for indifference to outward sacraments because of Quaker influence. They were an industrious folk, but mindful that their gold and silver were the Lord's. The wealthy, and even some of the poor, were generous in providing for the erection and endowment of churches.

The Welsh frequently showed a marked tendency to intellectual seriousness, desiring books and earnestly imploring the Society to furnish them. No doubt this was owing partly to their love of the ancient British tongue. There must have been also that longing to establish reasons for faith, without which the Church could not have survived the ages and can have no worthy future.

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## A LETTER OF JOHN KEBLE TO AN EARLY AMERICAN MISSIONARY

*By Grant Knauff*

A LETTER of historic importance and pastoral solicitude written by the Rev. John Keble to the Rev. Benjamin Holmes, founder of St. Mark's Church, West Orange, New Jersey, and of St. Peter's Church, Morristown, is a prized possession of Keble College, Oxford. A photostatic copy of the letter has recently been presented to the present rector of St. Mark's, West Orange, the Rev. Harold G. Willis, Canadian by birth, who since 1925 has ministered with devotion and zeal in the Mother Church of the Oranges.

John Keble was born on the 25th of April 1792. In 1811 he was appointed to an Oriel fellowship. He took holy orders in 1815-16. In 1827 he published *The Christian Year*. In 1831 he was appointed Professor of Poetry at Oxford. On Sunday, July 14, 1833 Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of *National Apostacy*. The occasion of the sermon was the suppression by Earl Gray's reform ministry of ten Irish bishoprics. Against Erastianism Keble had long chafed inwardly, and he now asserted the claim of the Church to a heavenly origin and a divine prerogative. About the same time, and partly stimulated by Keble's sermon, leading spirits in Oxford began a systematic course of action to revive High Church principles and patristic theology. Thus arose the Tractarian Movement, a name it received from the famous Tracts for the Times. If Keble is to be reckoned, as Newman would have it, as the primary author of the Movement, it was from Pusey that it received one of its best known names, and in Newman that it soon found a genuine leader. So the 14th of July 1833 is to be reckoned as the beginning of the Oxford Movement, destined in the providence of God to make the dry bones of the old Church of England to live an exceeding great army, truly a part of Christ's Kingdom on earth.

The real bent and choice of Keble was toward a pastoral cure in a country parish, but he remained at Oxford until 1823. Then he returned to Fairford, to assist his father, the Rev. John Keble, and with another brother he served one or two small and poorly endowed curacies in the neighborhood of Coln.

In 1825 Keble became vicar of Hursley in Hampshire, and married Miss Clarke. He departed this life at Bournemouth the 29th of March 1866, and was buried at Hursley.

The letter was written at Fairford, and is dated the 10th of July 1833, just four days before the sermon was preached at Oxford. We perceive that in Keble's mind it was a time of heart-searching uncertainty for the Church, and of profound and needed impending change. And the genuine pastoral heart of Blessed John Keble is so evident in his solicitude for the village schoolmistress who had come to the United States, and the desire that others coming might receive a warm welcome and devoted care on the part of the good priest, Benjamin Holmes, who was the founder and first rector of St. Mark's Church, the mother Parish of the Oranges:

To

The Revd. Benjamin Holmes  
Orange  
Essex County  
New Jersey  
*N. America*

Fairford, Gloucestershire  
10 July 1833

Reverend & dear Sir,

Permit me to address you thus familiarly, altho' my ungracious delay in answering your kind letter has almost forfeited, I must own, any right I had to address you at all. But I will assume that "late is better than never", & without any further apology (for indeed, though I have been, for an idle man, very busy, I have not that satisfies my own conscience) I will proceed to thank you most heartily for all your kindness to my old friends the Wests, & particularly for sending me so comfortable an account of them. They are a family in whom I am much interested, & it will be a great satisfaction to me to hear from time to time, that they go on to deserve your good opinion. The mother and eldest daughter, in particular, appeared to me to have a strong sense of duty, & gave me great satisfaction in the care of our village school, such as it is—for at best it is but a rude unformed institution, for the 19th century. Pray do me the favour, if you see them soon, of remembering me to them very kindly, & telling them I trust that they will hear from some of us before long: and that I do not recollect at present any changes in the village in which they wd. be very particularly interested. I must now proceed to the latter part of your letter, which I cannot thank you for enough. Indeed we *do* feel a deep and increasing interest in the progress or prospects of the Apostolical Church in the U. S. & have long done so. But of late our own peculiar circumstances have turned our thoughts that way more intensely

than ever. I say *we* & *our*, because I feel that if I can but express what I mean in this subject, I shall be speaking the thought of a very large body of the Clergy of England: who feeling daily that it becomes more and more questionable in point of duty, & improbable in point of fact, that we should continue in the same relation we are in at present to the government of the country, are naturally looking round on all fragments of the Church Apostolic, for hints and examples to guide their proceedings, during and after so momentous a change. And I really think, that nothing in the world would strengthen our hands much more, than if we could secure the sympathy & approbation of the Bishops and Clergy of the U. S. and revive, in spirit and substance at least, the old custom of Synodical letters from Church to Church. One of the first steps towards this will be to circulate as widely as possible, among the Clergy & thoughtful part of the Laity here, authentic particulars of the Constitution, Canons, history & practices of our brethren among you, in respect of ecclesiastical education as well as of public worship & discipline. About discipline I am especially anxious; for *there* it is, of all points, that the *establishment* encumbers instead of protecting us: & I think it is very generally felt, that we shall have much to answer for, if Providence having separated us from the State, which appears likely, we do not, in so far as in us lies, restore the ancient discipline by censure and excommunication, as well as the ancient government by Synods. *You*, i. e. the Church in the U. S. will have much to tell us as to the practicability and desirableness of such measures, & on a thousand details connected with them: & I shall take it as a very great favour, if you will at your leisure give me a line, informing me where I may look for the best accounts of these matters. Is there any periodical on which one can depend? or any authorised collection of documents? At the same time perhaps you will be able to specify some safe conveyance, of wch I may avail myself to send you 2 or 3 publications connected with this great subject, which I am very desirous of introducing to you in case you should as yet be unacquainted with them: & which, at any rate, you will be able to find a use for, should you happen to possess them before. I observe in conversation, that one of the points on which Clergymen here are most apt to question the arrangement of the American Church, is the admission of laymen to so large a share in the making of ecclesiastical Canons. I do not myself feel the objection, but mine is but an unlearned opinion. I should very much like to know how it is found to work. Of course any opinion you may favour me with on this or any other subject wch every one must feel to be very delicate, would be regarded by me as quite confidential, except I were especially authorized to make use of it. Another point of very great interest, & on which such caution would be peculiarly requisite, wd. be the mode

of conducting elections so popular as I imagine yours are, & as ours would become in the case supposed, to Bishopricks and other ecclesiastical offices. Of course your printed authorities specify all the principal observances: but in elections, more than any thing else, as far as I have been able to see or read every thing is apt to turn upon points not thought of when the rules were established. Should there be anything of that kind in the working of your Church elections, it would be a great & real kindness to point it out; the more so, the less it may have been made matter of observation in print. — I seem to be inflicting a most unmerciful dose upon you. But there is hardly a subject in the world, on wch I feel, just now, so deeply interested— I feel that if by any humble effort of one's own one can contribute in any way to a cordial understanding & expression of sympathy between Churches situated as yours and ours are at present, it might under Providence help effectually to strengthen the hands of the Catholic Apostolical Church, at a moment when the Antichristian powers seem more than usually active, & fancy themselves more than usually triumphant. One of the most remarkable phenomena in history, as it seems to me (but to be sure one's fancy is always apt to exaggerate events very near one) is the union, under which we are suffering & likely to suffer, of fanatical Romanists & Independents on one hand, & open Infidels and Indifferents on the other. There is this good, one would hope, in it all; that it really seems to drive all serious persons, in spite of former prejudices, back again upon the real old Church principles: & I trust, if our unworthiness defeat it not, we may yet live to see such a rally of that long-forsaken cause, as the enemies of it little dream of. At this particular moment, we are come to a particular point in our Church History. The H. of Commons in wch persons of any religion or avowal of none may & do sit, has just passed and sent to the Lords a Bill which among other such delectable provisions abolishes ten Irish Bishopricks, *without any sort of appeal to the Church*. I understand an effort has been made by some real friends of the Church (whether discreet in this instance or no, I am not enough behind the curtain to say) to get the Lords to pass the Bill, inserting in the process an express reference to Convocation. Should that be done, & the Commons reject it (wh I suspect they would) it would make our cause more popular & so far might be a good thing: but should it go on, & Convocation be summoned, it will probably lead to most unpleasant discussions, ending in a separation of all Churchmen, who are not Erastians (I trust a very considerable party) from what they would consider the schismatical body, remaining, at such cost, in union with the state. On the other hand, should the Lords pass the Bill (wch can only be by a violent interference of the King or the Irish—and the latter is not to be dreaded on this occasion, the present Cabinet is so unpopular) I feel that we shall be in the

most perplexing predicament: for our cause is not yet sufficiently understood for a secession to take place, with any great effect, *here*, & in *Ireland* it might probably lead to the total extinction of the present Reformed Church. Perhaps submission, with the present possible protest, would be our best wisdom, *for this time*: & we would make the most of the interval (probably short enough) between this and the next usurpation, to excite people's attention, & propagate right notions. After all, one is almost ashamed of speculating so much on the subject, it being so utterly uncertain what turn things may take—but living in deep retirement as I do, I had nothing but speculations to send: and the interest you so kindly express in our Church has embolden me to pour myself out to you, in this crude and hurried way—it will at any rate give you an idea of the topicks which employ us in England at present, & of the comfort and hope which it gives us to receive such accounts as you favoured me with, of your happier prospects in the same cause.

I promised a neighbouring Clergyman the other day, that when I wrote to you, I wd. take the liberty of enquiring what chance of employment and maintenance a Canon wd. have, who should come to your country as a Schoolmaster, (I mean what is called an *English* Schoolmaster) supposing him pretty well qualified for teaching. The person for whom the enquiry is made, is, I understand, the Son of a Clergyman: farther than that, I know nothing of him. I seem to be making very free: but I must add one request more—that you will permit me, should I know of any really respectable Churchmen going to America, to recommend them into your neighbourhood, & give them one line of introduction to you. It seems to me no longer banishment, since I had your letter: before I never felt easy at peoples' going; imagining they would be as sheep without a shepherd. Farewell, my dear Sir. Forgive the long delay of this epistle, and its unworthiness, now it comes, for all other purposes except assuring you that I am, with much gratitude

Your affectionate friend and fellow servant

J. Keble junr.

THE NOBLE SAVAGE AS SEEN BY THE MISSIONARY OF  
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE  
GOSPEL IN COLONIAL NEW YORK 1702-1750

*Frank J. Klingberg*

*Professor of History*

*University of California, Los Angeles*

THE four bidders for the Indian's loyalty were the British Government, which desired him as a fighter and outpost of Empire; the trader who wanted him as a consumer of alcohol and other goods, and as a supplier of furs and various products; the colonist who craved his lands; and the missionary who wished his conversion to Christianity and who in fact softened the impact of the new order. Without him as a religious and social teacher, "a secularized native", bewildered by commercial and military pressures, would have suffered even more severely from the barbaric effect of a strange civilization upon a native culture.

While it is true that these imperial forces were centered in London, where the great fight against France in the second hundred years war (1689-1815) was being planned and waged, colonials were inevitably active participants, and the European continent contributed its contingents of 3000 Palatinates and many scattered Huguenots to this pioneer and frontier society of mixed nationalities and many religious faiths. The S. P. G.<sup>1</sup> was not only the latest arrival of these four forces, but, as a pioneer Protestant missionary Society, it could not be expected to adapt itself quickly to a large scale program in every part of the British Empire in the western world. Under the circumstances, the effort to Christianize the Iroquois took the form of individual survey, individual contact, and first hand reporting of conditions in the American forest of New York in the early decades of the eighteenth century. These documents are therefore to be regarded as first hand, contemporary contributions to an evaluation of Protestant cultural contacts with natives, which are suggestively illustrative of problems wherever the white man's world meets native cultures whether in the early eighteenth century or in more recent times.

In these early letters, the missionary reporter showed himself as

<sup>1</sup>In this monograph, the S. P. G. and The Society are the two abbreviations used for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

an excellent observer and as a competent analyst of problems met in the wilderness for which he had no advance preparation or hand book, and which his superiors in London could perhaps only dimly comprehend. These early annalists are therefore to be read for their contribution to "the cult of the noble savage," and are to be regarded as laboratory or field men, collecting factual data for the testing of theory by actual experiment. Their amazing insight will be referred to from time to time in this study.

The hotly debated question of the superiority or inferiority of the noble savage was one of endless interest to eighteenth century men and not merely to Dean Swift and to Defoe.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, as these letters show, the missionary could in his letters vie with the interest aroused by the stories of pirates and explorers. It is only necessary to remember that the first edition of Robinson Crusoe, with its instant success and many imitations, appeared in 1719 for the reader to recapture some of the contemporary impressions of interest in the world wide discovery, imagined or real. Dampier (1652-1715), buccaneer, logwood cutter, privateer, and explorer held the world spell-bound with his publications of entertaining cruises and voyages around the world; and he and Woods Rogers (d. 1732) were at the height of their fame. Such historic rescues as that of Alexander Selkirk vied with the popularity of Gulliver's Travels (1726).

The ideas regarding noble savages brought home by travellers and missionaries were occasionally checked by visits of natives to London such as that of Joseph Brant from the Iroquois, Philip Quaque from Africa, Omai from the South Sea Islands, and many others. These natives, at times presented at court and painted by the noted artists of the day, aroused great curiosity. It was in this eighteenth century atmosphere and mood that these letters from the wilderness were received and read in London.

However, in this paper, it is intended to omit imperial and certain other aspects of Indian affairs in colonial New York in the first half of the century and to concentrate on the daily activity of the S. P. G.

<sup>2</sup>H. Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage, A Study in Romantic Naturalism*, 1928, *passim*; and Chauncey B. Tinker, *Nature's Simple Plan*, 1922, *passim*. A suggestive bibliography is to be found in R. S. Crane's review of Professor Tinker's book in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, No. 5, pp. 291-297. A helpful account of the origin of the ideas regarding primitive people is given by Miss Lois Whitney, "English Primitive Theories of Epic Origins," in *Modern Philology*, XXI, May, 1924. For a fine analysis of the work of the leading poet of Evangelicalism and humanitarianism, see Lodwick C. Hartley, "William Cowper, Humanitarian", 1938. The notes are a very valuable bibliography. Professor Charles M. Andrews, winner of the Pulitzer Award for 1935, author of "The Colonial Period of American History", 4 vols., called attention to and gave an evaluation of the S. P. G. and allied records for the historian in his "Materials in British Archives for American Colonial History" in *The American Historical Review*, Jan., 1905.

missionaries in Christianization and education, and, as indicated above, to regard them primarily as pioneer observers and reporters to whom the individual Indian was a human being, neither hero nor devil.<sup>3</sup> This contemporary zeal of the day appears at the very beginning in the request of the Rev. John Talbot, chaplain on the ship, "Centurion," that he go to Boston with the Rev. George Keith, the first itinerant S. P. G. missionary sent to the New England colonies in 1702. In an early report to a friend in England, Mr. Talbot, who at once started work among the Indians, explained their impressions of a squaw sackem,

I have baptized several persons . . . indeed in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel, even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the faith, as appears by a conference that my Lord Cornbury the Governor here, has had with them at Albany, 5 of their sachems or kings told him they were glad to hear that the sun shined in England again since King William's death, they did not admire at first what was come to us, that we should have a squaw sachem viz<sup>t</sup> a woman king, but they hoped she would be a good mother, and send them some to teach them religion, and establish traffic amongst them that they might be able to purchase a coat and not go to church in bear skins, so they send our queen a present, 10 beaver skins to make her fine, and one for muff to keep her warm.<sup>4</sup>

Rev. Mr. Talbot continued by commenting that the Papists had been very zealous and diligent in converting these Indians, through the sending of priests and Jesuits. The Jesuits had suffered much for Indian conversion, and should inspire the Church of England to further efforts.

However, a letter sent from Nova Scotia the following year to the Secretary of the Society, John Chamberlayne, suggests the controversy

<sup>3</sup>No attempt has been made in this study to incorporate the observations of other contemporary or later students of the Indian but rather to make the reports of the S. P. G. Missionary available. For the part played by the Iroquois in the Anglo-French and Anglo-American conflicts, see John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1938, pp. 398-399; and by Robert H. Nichols in *Church History*, December, 1938. For S. P. G. work among the Iroquois from 1749 to 1774, see Frank J. Klingberg, "Sir William Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," in *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, March, 1939.

<sup>4</sup>Rev. John Talbot to Mr. Richard Gillingham, New York, Nov. 24, 1702, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 1, No. LVI. For an excellent recent study of John Talbot which includes his biography and his letters, see Edgar Legare Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727*, (Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1938).

among the missionaries of diverse faiths and the strain imposed upon the Red Man by conflicting counsels:

It is the common opinion that the Jesuits debauch the Iroquois (which is the common name of the 5 nations) from their fidelity to the Crown . . . for among the Five Nations there is a great number of French that are incorporated by adoption into their tribes, and as such, they ostentatiously assume . . . Indian names, and the poor silly Indians considering themselves as persons of their own blood, do entirely confide in them and admit them into their councils from whence you may judge what fine work the Jesuits make with their affairs.<sup>5</sup>

To offset the intrigues, as French efforts were regarded, in New York and surrounding territory, the S. P. G. was urged, through a memorial by Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian Affairs, to send Protestant ministers to the Five Nations.<sup>6</sup> Livingston attended a meeting of the Society and gave an account of the needs of the natives. By October 1703, the members had agreed upon two missionaries, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore, and the Rev. Mr. Smith.<sup>7</sup> The Society wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantation regarding finances as follows:

. . . the said Gentlemen [are allowed] 100£ per annum each, over and above which they will have 20£ a piece to buy them utensils for the little Caban they are supposed to have among the Indians, and 10 or 15£ for books etc. Now, My Lords, I am to tell you that the Society having done so much . . . they would gladly know what assistance they may expect in an affaire, that does at least as much concerne the State as the Church . . .<sup>8</sup>

The Lords of Trade were asked to present the situation to the Queen and to the Government of New York. The Society explained that four additional missionaries were immediately needed in New York, three more for the Five Nations and one for the River Indians.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, it was imperative that each missionary have a well built home, securely barricaded, for fear of the insults of drunken Indians. Other

<sup>5</sup>Translation accompanying a letter in French from Godfrey Dellius to John Chamberlayne, Halsteren, N. S., May 17, 1703, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) A 1, No. LXXXII.

<sup>6</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.) I, April 16, 1703; Ibid., September 17, 1703.

<sup>7</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, October 15, 1703.

<sup>8</sup>John Chamberlayne to Lords of Trade, Westminster, February [1] 1703/4, in E. B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, 1077. (Documents originally selected by J. R. Brodhead.)

<sup>9</sup>The River Indians, however, Secretary Chamberlayne believed, were no longer formidable, most of them having been killed in former wars.

items of expense would be necessary presents for the Indians and pay for personal servants.<sup>10</sup>

In reply to this application, the Secretary to the Lords of Trade wrote,

. . . the Lords Commss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantat<sup>ns</sup> . . . have ordered me to acquaint you that her Majesty does allow £20 a piece to all Ministers going to the Plantations for their passage; that they are of opinion it will be a great encouragement to such Ministers if they can be assured of a Benefice in England after so many years service (as may be thought reasonable) among the Indians . . . their Lord<sup>ps</sup> will take care to recommend the said Ministers to the Lord Cornbury, Governour of New Yorke.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Moore asked for and obtained £40 in addition to the usual £60 for his support.<sup>12</sup> He arrived in Albany in the fall of 1704, and began his preliminary work at once. To win the confidence of the Indians proved difficult, so that by November, 1705, he had not been accepted, in his opinion, because he was an Englishman, to whom the Indians ". . . bear no good will but rather an aversion, having a common saying among them that an Englishman is not good."<sup>13</sup> He analyzed this Indian hostility as due to,

1. The behavior of the English of New England towards them which has been very unchristian, particularly in taking away their land from them without a purchase.
2. The example of the garrison at Albany (the only English in this province that many Indians ever saw) which may justly have given them a prejudice against us not easily to be removed.
3. The continual misrepresentations of us by the Dutch which are the only inhabitants of that part of the province that borders upon the Indians, and the only persons that trade with them, who as they never had any affection towards us, so they have always shown it to the Indians, though I must say I have . . . received many civilities from some of them particularly Col. Schuyler and Mr. Lydius the Dutch Minister.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup>John Chamberlayne, to Lords of Trade, Westminster, February [1] 1703/4, E. B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, pp. 1077-1078.

<sup>11</sup>Secretary Popple to John Chamberlayne, Whitehall, February 3, 1703-4, in E. B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, p. 1078.

<sup>12</sup>*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, Sept. 17, 1703.

<sup>13</sup>Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 2, No. CXII.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

Anticipating the eventual Americanization of the colonies by means of common language, Mr. Moore and Governor Cornbury quaintly asked the Society to use its interest towards making the Dutch better subjects by prevailing with the Lords of Trade in London that there be no more Dutch schools in New York, and by persuading the Queen that there be no more Dutch ministers sent from Holland. If the Society did not take an interest in these suggestions, fatal consequences would ensue, and the Governor stated that ". . . without a command, if the Queen would only give him leave he would never suffer another Dutch minister to come over."<sup>15</sup> However, the Society, though remote from the scene, realized that such extreme measures would be detrimental and it encouraged two Dutch ministers, the Rev. Mr. Dellius and the Rev. Mr. Lydius, in their work with the Indians. Mr. Lydius, of Albany, was presented with books worth £10 by the S. P. G. in consideration for his ". . . promoting the Christian Religion among the Indians of the 5 Nations bordering on New York,"<sup>16</sup> and Mr. Dellius translated several prayers into the Mohawk language and transmitted them to the S. P. G.

Rev. Mr. Moore after patient efforts with the Indians at Albany and Schenectady, in November, 1705, decided to leave for the twofold reason that the Indians were difficult to Christianize, and the barbarous white colonials needed missionary care first.<sup>17</sup> He thus reflected the division of opinion regarding the chief aims of the Society in a pioneer world. Should major attention be centered on natives or on the colonists? He was convinced that to begin Christianizing the Indians before the whites was preposterous, ". . . for 'tis from the behavior of the Christians here that they have had and still have their notions of Christianity, which God knows has been and generally is such that I can't but think has made the Indian hate Christianity."<sup>18</sup> The English, he declared, were a very thriving and growing people, whereas it was the opposite with the Indians.

They waste away and have done ever since our first arrival amongst them (as they themselves say) like snow against the sun, so that very probably forty years hence there will scarce be an Indian seen in our America. God's providence in this matter seems very wonderful and no cause of their decrease visible unless their drinking Rum, with some new dis-

<sup>15</sup>Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CXII.

<sup>16</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, March 17, 1703/4.

<sup>17</sup>Mr. Robert Livingstone, Secretary of Indian affairs, said there was some mismanagement on Moore's part also, see a letter from Livingstone to John Chamberlayne, January, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CXXXVI.

<sup>18</sup>Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CXII.

tempers we have brought amongst them. Indeed the Christians selling the Indians so much rum as they do is a sufficient bar, if there were no other, against their embracing Christianity.<sup>19</sup>

This penetrating observation at this early date of the fate of the Indian north of Mexico stamps Moore as a man of keen prophetic insight, and as a pioneer of the cult of the white man's manifest destiny.

Concurrently with Mr. Moore's selection as a missionary, Mr. Elias Neau was appointed as a catechist for the province of New York with a salary of £50 a year.<sup>20</sup> Mr. Neau was as conspicuous for his work in New York as Dr. Le Jau was in South Carolina. French Huguenots, they had gifts for analyzing problems clearly and quickly, and imaginative and practical qualities as well. On July 10, 1703, Mr. Neau accepted the position and wrote the Society " . . . desiring that he may be allowed to teach the Negroes as well as the Indians."<sup>21</sup> Although Mr. Neau's work with the Negroes was successful,<sup>22</sup> he soon perceived the discouraging features of the Indian work. In November, 1705, he wrote the Society that the slaves were more numerous than the Indians, and if he were capable of giving advice to the Society, he would not waver in saying that one could make more proselytes of the Negroes than of the Indians. In striking phrases, he declared:

. . . and since charity well ordered begins at home, I believe God would sooner bless the works of pious persons who employ themselves at this work than to run up in the woods after miserable creatures who breath nothing but blood and slaughter, that are but a few and are moreover prejudiced by covetous persons who traffic with them for their skins and furs. In a word, they are people who have nothing but the figure of men and I am not surprized if the good and pious Mr. Moore has been obliged to say as St. Paul, "Since you refuse the light which I would have given you I shake off the dust of my feet, and I leave you in your dismal unbelief."<sup>23</sup>

This realistic evaluation of Indian life and manners, with its clearly expressed impression of the Negroes, states the missionary problem as it so often revealed itself to men actively at work on the ground, in divers parts of the colonies. Nevertheless, Mr. Neau did teach a few

<sup>19</sup>Thoroughgood Moore to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 13, 1705, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A. 2, No. CXII.

<sup>20</sup>Report of Committee for Establishing Catechist in the Plantation in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, January 15, 1702/3.

<sup>21</sup>Elias Neau to [Secretary], New York, July 10, 1703, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, I, Oct. 15, 1703.

<sup>22</sup>For a good account of Neau's labors see William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, pp. 234-261.

<sup>23</sup>Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 15, 1705, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A. 2, No. CXXV.

Indians, and in March 1706, he wrote to the Society that he was continuing ". . . to instruct the Negroes and Indians"<sup>24</sup> who came to his house, and asked the members for an Indian catechism for a Mr. Osterwald, of Neufchatel, who took a great interest in the Indians.<sup>25</sup>

Governor Cornbury, however, was not discouraged by Mr. Moore's lack of success; he still was confident of Indian conversion. In 1707, he asked the S. P. G. to send a minister to Albany, one who could teach school as well as ". . . make the Mission to the Indians effectual, . . . I would appoint one of the Interpreters to attend him by which means he might learn something of the Indian Language, then there might be some hopes of his doing some good among these Heathen, but for a Minister of the Church of England to convert the Indians to Christianity by a Dutch Interpreter, will never do."<sup>26</sup> The Indians declared that they had been the neighbors of the English for many years, yet had never been taught religion, ". . . but as soon as the French came we [Indians] learnt it of them, and in that we will live and dye, let them look to this that have as much favor in their hands, but not that zeale to stretch them forth to do good."<sup>27</sup>

In addition to this critical letter, the Society received one from Rev. William Urguhart of Long Island in which he related the murder of the William Halliot family, including husband and wife, and five children by two slaves, one Indian and one Negro, stressing the fact that the Indian had been brought up by Mr. Halliot from the age of four.<sup>28</sup>

Another disillusioning report from Long Island came from the Rev. John Thomas of Hamstead (Hempstead). He explained that the Society had a very imperfect notion of the native Indians; it was impossible to impart any Christian impression, education, moral or otherwise, because the ". . . Indians are wholly given up to drink and sotchiness, rum and strong liquor being the only deities they now care [for] or are solicitous to worship."<sup>29</sup>

The following year, 1710, four Iroquois Sachems<sup>30</sup> went to England to appear before Queen Anne, asking that someone be sent to their country to instruct them. The proposal was laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Earl of Sunderland, who, in turn, presented it to the Society so that its members ". . . may consider what

<sup>24</sup>*Translation of Elias Neau to John Chamberlayne, New York, March 1, 1706, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 2, No. CLIX.*

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>*Lord Cornbury to John Chamberlayne, New York, November 29, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 3, No. 155.*

<sup>27</sup>*Rev. John Talbot to John Chamberlayne, Rhode Island, December 13, 1707, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 3, No. 158.*

<sup>28</sup>*Rev. William Urguhart to John Chamberlayne, Jamaica, Long Island, February 4, 1707/08, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 3, No. 176.*

<sup>29</sup>*John Thomas to John Chamberlayne, Hamstead [Long Island], June 12, 1709, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. IX.*

<sup>30</sup>*Their names were Henrique, John, Brant, and Etchwa Caume.*

may be the more proper ways of cultivating that good disposition these Indians seem to be in for receiving the Christian faith, and for sending thither fit persons for that purpose . . ."<sup>31</sup> Mr. Chamberlayne at once wrote the Society regarding the affair, and enclosed an address by the Sachems to the Society which read in part:

'Tis with great satisfaction that the Indian sachems reflect upon the usage and answers they received from the chief ministers of Christ's religion in our great Queen's dominions, when they asked their assistance for the thorough conversion of their nations. 'Tis thence expected that such of them will ere long come over and help to turn those of Our subjects from Satan unto God as may by their great knowledge and pious practices convince the enemies to saving faith that the only true God is not amongst them.<sup>32</sup>

A Select Committee of the S. P. G. then met at Lambeth, and agreed upon several resolutions. First, that the design of propagating the gospel in foreign parts related primarily to the conversion of the heathen, and therefore that branch of work should be prosecuted preferably to all others; next, that immediate steps were to be taken to send itinerant missionaries to preach among the Six Nations; and last, that no more missionaries be sent among the white Christians except to those places where the ministers were dead or removed, unless the Society had enough funds for both projects.<sup>33</sup> After consulting Col. Francis Nicholson, Col. Peter Schuyler,<sup>34</sup> and the Indian Sachems themselves, the following resolutions were passed for the more practical administration of the new policy of concentrating on the natives, by providing for two ministers (single men) and an interpreter, who were

<sup>31</sup>Earl of Sunderland to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitehall, April 20, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. LXXXVI.

<sup>32</sup>Indian Sachems to the Venerable Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (n. d.) in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 55, No. LXXXVIII (enclosed in Archbishop of Canterbury to John Chamberlayne, April 20, 1710, q. v.).

<sup>33</sup>Report of Select Committee on the Six Nations of Indians, Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, April 28, 1710.

<sup>34</sup>Col. Schuyler (1657-1724) had accompanied the Indians to England. In 1686, he had been made mayor of Albany, and, as such, became head of the Board of Indian Commissioners. His constant object was to cement friendly relations between the Five Nations and the English. Both Col. Schuyler and Col. Nicholson are best known for their parts in the British expeditions for the conquest of Canada, especially Port Royal, 1710. Nicholson (1655-1728) began his career in the colonies as captain of the troops sent to New England under Sir Edmund Andros, became a Member of the Council for the Dominion of New England, and in 1688, Lieutenant Governor. Nicholson's varied career included the governorships of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Nova Scotia. Col. Nicholson was an enthusiastic member of the S. P. G., and on his death left most of his estate to the Society. Col. Nicholson, after Governor Cornbury, was instrumental in convening a conference of the Anglican clergy in New York to discuss Indian conversion and education shortly after Rev. Mr. Moore's arrival as missionary.

to live at Dynderoogby, the chief Mohawk village, at a salary of £50 a year for each minister and £60 for the interpreter. Moreover, a chapel, house, and a fort for their defense were to be built; specific instructions were to be given to the ministers, and the Indian children were to be taught in English; a brief history of the Bible or New Testament, a Catechism, some prayers and psalms were to be translated into the Indian language, printed and distributed among the Indians, in which errors in the French Quebec Catechism were to be noted; laws against intoxicating liquors were to be strictly enforced, in accordance with the wishes of the Indian chiefs themselves; and lastly, a plea to the Queen for an Anglican Bishop was to be made, based in part on the success of the French under a Roman Catholic Bishop at Quebec.<sup>35</sup>

The Indian Sachems were again brought before the Society, and, through an interpreter, these resolutions were explained to them. The Indians expressed satisfaction, promised to care for the Ministers sent to them, and agreed not to admit any Jesuits or French priests among them. It was then decided to give each Indian a Bible and Common Prayer, handsomely bound in red turkey leather.<sup>36</sup> In a letter of May 2, 1710, the Indians thanked the Society and hoped for the early arrival of the ministers.

Political as well as religious arguments for missionaries were repeatedly used. On May 22, Col. Francis Nicholson wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

I was in hopes before I left Great Britain to have received her Majesty's . . . commands concerning the chapel and house for the missionaries which were to be in an Indian fort, as likewise about an interpreter. . . . These things being promised, the Indians, . . . fully rely thereupon and nothing will convince them but ocular demonstration . . . if there be not a speedy beginning made I fear they will at least suspect that what was promised them will not be performed and that will not only be a point of ill consequence of religion but of state also. . . .<sup>37</sup>

Steps were soon taken to fulfill these promises. In 1709, the Rev. Thomas Barclay who had been appointed minister at Albany and incidentally to instruct the neighboring Indians, was at once given an Indian boy by the Commissioners of Indian affairs, to be trained as a na-

<sup>35</sup>*Select Committees Resolutions for effective converting of the Indians, Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, April 28, 1710. This is one of the first pleas for a Bishop for the colonies, the appeal continued in vain for the duration of the Society's connection with the American colonies.*

<sup>36</sup>*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, April 28, 1710, and May 19, 1710.*

<sup>37</sup>*Col. Francis Nicholson to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on board her Majesty's ship Draggon, 100 leagues from Lands End, May 22, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. XCIV, see also a letter regarding same from Col. Schuyler, ibid., A 5, No. XCV.*

tive teacher.<sup>38</sup> The boy was the son of a French Christian Indian, and consequently a promising pupil. A little later, the expressions of English missionary nationalism naturally occurred as the English came into contact with French and Dutch religious activity. Rev. Mr. Barclay reported the death of Mr. Lydius, the Dutch minister, who had been working among the Indians, and believed that a minister especially for the Indians was sorely needed because the Indians that had come under Mr. Lydius' care were "so ignorant and scandalous that they can scarce be reputed Christians."<sup>39</sup> Moreover, Barclay observed that in his opinion Prince Hendrick, who was so honored in England did not have ten Indian followers, and that the other three Indians were not Sachems. In short, the Society and Her Majesty had been imposed upon,<sup>40</sup> a view which the Society was unwilling to accept.

In Great Britain much interest was aroused in favor of the Indian mission, an anonymous contributor gave £20,<sup>41</sup> and several missionaries were suggested. A Mr. Henderson was the first candidate recommended but he was rejected because he was not a native Englishman.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Barclay and Col. Robert Hunter recommended the Rev. Mr. Freeman of the Dutch Congregation who had translated part of the Liturgy into the Indian language. The Bishop of Salisbury suggested Mr. Edward Bishop of Somersetshire;<sup>43</sup> William Cordiner wished a Mr. Hunt to go to New York;<sup>44</sup> but none of these applicants was approved, and it was not until 1712 that a missionary to the Indians was appointed, a discouraging delay often met with in eighteenth century negotiations.

During the interval, various encouraging reports concerning the New York Indians found their way to England. In May, 1711, Governor Robert Hunter wrote that "the Indians are solicitous for their missionaries and forts promised them. The Lord Bishop of London

<sup>38</sup>Thomas Barclay to the Bishop of London, New York, July 5, 1709, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. 1. Mr. Barclay said that it cost him £15 for the boy's diet and schooling, so he asked for an increase in salary. In 1710, an allowance was asked for the boy. See a letter from Barclay to John Chamberlayne, Albany, September 26, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. CLXXVI.

<sup>39</sup>Thomas Barclay to [Secretary], Albany, September 26, 1710, in Journal of S. P. G. I, January 19, 1710/11.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Richard King to John Chamberlayne, Exon, October 4, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. CLVI.

<sup>42</sup>Bishop of London to John Chamberlayne, [London], June 18, 1710, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 5, No. CXIV, and *ibid.*, September 15, 1710, A 5, No. CXXVII.

<sup>43</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), I, January 5, 1710/11.

<sup>44</sup>William Cordiner to John Chamberlayne, London, February 23, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, No. XII, Mr. Bishop said that he understood the mission to the Iroquois was the best preferment in America. See a letter from him to John Chamberlayne, Somerset, April, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 6, No. LIX.

writes me about the Queen's bounty for that purpose, but I have as yet heard nothing of it. . . ."<sup>45</sup> The Society had, however, received £136 of the sum of £400 promised by the Queen for building a House, Chapel and Fort, and Colonel Nicholson had been empowered to draw upon other funds for the rest of the sum in case it was not paid out of the Treasury.<sup>46</sup>

Aided by the colonial Governor, Rev. Thomas Barclay zealously endeavored to bring the Indians into the Anglican Church, and was encouraged in several conferences with the Chiefs at Albany and Schenectady.<sup>47</sup> Rev. Mr. Barclay told of his own successes with the Indians,

The proselytes have accepted of My Ministry, and on the 23 of My [May] last in our English Chapel at Albany, I christened a child of one of their chief Sachems, and on the 9 of this Month I had a Meeting . . . in the Church of Schenectady, to the number of 50 and upwards. They have been converted to the Christian Faith by the Popish Missionaries and by Monsieur Delliuss, Freeman, and Lydius. After I had Catechized several of them, I found three fit for receiving the Sacrament, and the day following being Sunday, they very devoutly received it at My hands. The same day I christened two of their children. . . .

The Indian interpreter hath been assisting to me in bringing the proselytes and I have promised him 15 or 10£, at least for the first year.<sup>48</sup>

To the Society Colonel Schuyler reported the gratitude of the Indians for the notice taken of them and their eager expectancy in the arrival of the missionaries. He had laid a plan for the fort and chapel with an estimated expense of about £900 sterling.<sup>49</sup> A little later, Governor Robert Hunter announced that he had her Majesty's orders " . . . in conjunction with Col. Nicholson, to build forts and chapels, not exceeding the value of £1000 New York money."<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup>Governor Robert Hunter to John Chamberlayne, New York, May 7, 1711, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, No. LXX.

<sup>46</sup>*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, II, March 22, 1710/11.

<sup>47</sup>Hendrick, the Indian Sachem, was not at the meeting of the Proselytes at Schenectady. See Thomas Barclay to Secretary, Albany, July 3, 1711, in *S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, No. CXXIX<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>48</sup>Thomas Barclay to Secretary, Albany, June 12, 1711, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, No. CXXIX. In this letter can also be found an account of the opposition given Barclay by Mr. Debois, minister of the Dutch congregation.

<sup>49</sup>Col. Schuyler to [Secretary], Albany, May 4, 1711, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, II, June 22, 1711, also *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, LXXI.

<sup>50</sup>Gov. Robert Hunter to Secretary, New York, September 12, 1711 (*Postscript*) in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 6, No. CXXXII; also in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, II, November 29, 1711.

Rev. Mr. Barclay wrote hopefully, "I need not tell you that a fort is a building in the Mohogs [sic] country and will be finished in July next. The Chapel is to be 24 foot square. There is a house . . . ordered for the Missionaries. . . ." <sup>51</sup> He contemplated a visit to the fort, which was only twenty eight miles above Schenectady and could be reached in one day from Albany. Mr. Barclay urged that the Society send men with zeal and courage, because the French Indians were bold and committed bloody murders. <sup>52</sup>

Rev. John Sharpe, a former missionary in New Jersey, also joined in words of warning:

I am sorry there is so little hopes of doing good among the Indians. We received the news of their being of late very insolent, and that they have chased away the carpenters who were (at their own request) sent to build a fort and chapel in their country. . . . They speak . . . as they are moved by liquor and presents. . . . Those who pass in England for emperors were not representatives of the Five Nations, but Mohawks of the nearest Nation to Albany. The French have their priests now among the Senecas and Onondagoes. . . . <sup>53</sup>

Under these circumstances, Mr. Barclay naturally pressed the need for liquor laws, ". . . and if a law be not promoted at home against selling strong liquors to the Natives in any of her Majesty's Colonies in America, there is no possibility of doing any good to them." <sup>54</sup>

To facilitate Indian conversion, Mr. Barclay asked Mr. B. Freeman, of the Dutch congregation at Flatbush, to send to the Society part of his Indian translation of the liturgy of the Church of England. Mr. Freeman supplied the Morning and Evening Prayer, Creed of An-  
 thanasius, and the Litany in the dialect of the Mohawks, the first of the Five Nations although it was understood by all Five Nations. <sup>55</sup> In

<sup>51</sup>Thomas Barclay to [John Chamberlayne], Albany, Nov. 21, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 130-131.

<sup>52</sup>Mr. Barclay relates how the French Indians, not far from Albany, barbarously murdered a whole family of twelve. This frightened the farmers and forced them to leave their homes and flocks. See Barclay to [Secretary], Albany, Nov. 21, 1711, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 130-131.

<sup>53</sup>John Sharpe to [William Taylor], New York, June 23, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 214-215. Regarding the French, Mr. Sharpe said that they had imposed upon ". . . them to believe there were instructions found in a chest drove ashore from some of the fleet that were cast away in Canada River which directed, that after the reduction of Canada the Continent being in the hands of the English, all the Indians should be destroyed. They have upon this met together which they never presumed to do without the consent of the Government till now."

<sup>54</sup>Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, New York, May 31, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, p. 206.

<sup>55</sup>Mr. Barclay transmitted these to the Society, in May, 1712, see a letter from him to William Taylor, New York, May 31, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 204-206.

August, 1700, Lord Bellamont ordered Mr. Freeman to instruct the Mohawks. He explained his plan for converting the Indians, and his success and methods in making the translations.

I had one Indian constantly by me of whom I gathered several words, but afterward out of their language I found 16 alphabetical letters. . . . By this alphabet I taught that Indian to read and write perfectly . . . besides what I have translated of your liturgy, I have done in the Indian tongue the Gospel of St. Matthew . . . and the 1. 2. 3. Chapters of Genesis, as also 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 17. 18. 19. of the same book . . . the 1. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. and 20 of Exodus. I have likewise translated the 1. 5. 6. 15. 22. 32. 38. Psalms, besides the whole . . . of St. Mathew. . . . A short explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles Creed . . . a short system of Theology. . . .<sup>56</sup>

The Indians, he continued, had a great veneration for the English liturgy, especially the Litany, "at the reading of which they frequently did tremble." Mr. Freeman was happy that Anglican missionaries were coming to the Indians, and he placed his translations and papers at their disposal.<sup>57</sup>

In February, 1712, Mr. Barclay's load was reduced by the appointment of Mr. William Andrews as missionary to the Indians of New York.<sup>58</sup> He had been in the plantations, had some understanding of the Indian languages, and possessed a character well suited to this work. He was to receive £80 per year and his interpreter £60, and, upon his entering speedily on his duties in the Mohawk country, he was to be paid £50.<sup>59</sup>

The Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the S. P. G. gave generously to help out the mission. Queen Anne donated a communion cloth, altar cloth, cushions, a Bible, and several other items. The Archbishop of Canterbury furnished copies of the Commandments,

<sup>56</sup>B. Freeman to [William Taylor], Flatbush, May 28, 1712. (Read to the Society October 10, 1712) in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 204-205. Mr. Freeman also translated other texts of scripture in relation to Birth, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and some of his writings discussed the errors of the Church of Rome.

<sup>57</sup>Mr. Freeman said he had no consideration for his work among the Indians, the Government had promised him £75 per annum but failed to pay him.

<sup>58</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), II, February 22, 1711/12.

<sup>59</sup>Testimonial of William Andrews, Missionary to the Six Nations, London, April, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 102-104; William Taylor to Gov. Robert Hunter, London, May 23, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 289-290.

Lord's Prayer, and some prints; and the Society sent a painting of its arms, and sixty sermons.<sup>60</sup>

By August, the Fort and Chapel had been finished and garrisoned by the Governor. Pending the arrival of Andrews, Barclay went among the Mohawks and was kindly received by them. Sixty Indians came to hear him preach<sup>61</sup> and two children were baptized.

In October, the Rev. Mr. Andrews landed in New York, and, on November 13, he arrived at Albany. Barclay gave an account of his reception by the Indians:

. . . at his arrival he was welcomed by the five principal Sachems, viz. Sachan, or (Amos), Henrick, Taqueinant, Tajoris, and a fifth whose name I have forgot. There were also present several of their chief squas [sic] and young men. . . . The 15 Nov. the Commissioners for Indian affairs being met and the five sachems with them . . . the sachems . . . promised him all civil and kind usage. . . . Hendrick . . . expressed . . . their highest gratitude to Almighty God who had inclined the . . . Queen . . . to send them one to lead them on the way to Heaven, they being in the dark full of dismal fears and perplexities, not knowing what shall become of them after this life. Next he returned their humble thanks to the most religious Queen Anne, to their ghostly Father, his Grace the Archbishop, and the rest of the Spiritual Sachems of that Godly body (as they were pleased to call the Society)

<sup>60</sup>William Taylor to Gov. Robert Hunter, London, Saturday, July 26, 1712, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 7, p. 267. The exact gifts were as follows:

Gifts for the Mohawk Chapels given by Queen Anne,

- 1 communion Table Cloth
- 2 Damask Napkins
- 1 Carpet for the Communion Table
- 1 Altar Cloth
- 1 Pulpit Cloth
- 1 Large cushion with tassels
- 1 Small cushion for the desk
- 1 Holland surplice
- 2 Common Prayer Books, one for each Chapel
- 1 Book of homilies
- 4 of Her Majesty's Arms . . .
- 1 large silver salver
- 2 large silver flaggons
- 1 silver dish which is a drawer under the other plate
- 1 silver cup

Gifts given by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

- 2 tables of the Commandments and Lord's Prayer
- 97 prints of the Queen's effigies, arms, etc., to be distributed among the Indians

Gifts given by the Society,

- 1 Society's arms painted to be put up in the Chapel
- 50 Octavo
- 10 Quarto

Sermons to be distributed in the Province

<sup>61</sup>The sermon was taken from Matthew 21:18, "It is written my house shall be called the house of prayer."

who had been pleased to send them a father . . . and last of all to the minister who had travelled so far for their good.<sup>62</sup>

Hendrick, however, voiced some suspicion and requested that none of the Mohawks' land be clandestinely bought from them, for to do so would only cause their enmity. He also hoped that the rumor that one-tenth of the Indian goods was to be taken from them for the support of the minister was false. Andrews assured him that he and the English had no such design.<sup>63</sup> On November 20, Mr. Andrews set out for the Mohawk country, accompanied by Robert Livingstone Jr., Mayor of Albany, Captain Mathews, a Churchwarden, Justice Stroorman of Schenectady and Mr. Barclay. Mr. Andrews entered upon his duties at once preaching and baptizing two Indian children. However, the interpreter was a Dutchman, unacquainted with the English tongue, therefore a Mr. John Oliver was hired to translate Mr. Andrews' sermon into Dutch for the interpreter to render into Indian. Mr. Oliver was hired to teach in the Indian School.<sup>64</sup>

One of the first letters written by Mr. Andrews to the Society read, in part,

. . . I find, I thank God, most of the Indians that are at home (for the greatest part of them as they tell me are abroad which I have not yet seen) very well disposed to embrace those Christian doctrines which are delivered to them, as appears from their diligence in coming to Church and their seeming good attention and devotion when there, and where we have commonly 50 or 60 every Lord's Day, but I hope when the others come home we shall have a great many more. I had 18 at the Sacrament on Christmas Day. I have baptized 8 of their children and a young Man about 24 years of age.<sup>65</sup>

Two months later he again wrote that the Dutch as well as the English traders were not keen on having a minister settle among them, and the "extortion, deceitful dealing, lying and cheating" of the Traders had a bad influence on the Indians.<sup>66</sup> He deprecated the utter lack of real concern for the Indians baptized by priests, for they never instructed the Indians previous to baptism. A school was greatly needed, and Mr. Andrews asked the Society's advice as to whether to teach the

<sup>62</sup>Thomas Barclay to William Taylor, Albany, December 17, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 125-128.

<sup>63</sup>Record of meeting of Commissioners of Indian affairs in Albany, November 15, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 254-256.

<sup>64</sup>Mr. Oliver was formerly a clerk to Mr. Barclay, and had always been a communicant of the Church. He was to be paid out of the interpreter's salary.

<sup>65</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, Fort Hunter, January 13, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 227-228.

<sup>66</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 144.

children in their own language or in English. Andrews himself did not favor English because it gave the Indians "opportunity of conversing the more with the English as also with Dutch who speak English, and so to learn their vices."<sup>67</sup> To encourage education, Mr. Andrews requested the Society ". . . to order the value of 5£ in some trifling things such as coarse beads, small knives, small scissors, small brass rings and the like. . . ."<sup>68</sup> At first he described the Mohawk Nation as numbering about 260,<sup>69</sup> but by September, 1713, he thought there must be 580<sup>70</sup> adults and many children. Their life was a roving one, and their language was the most difficult to learn because the words were so long, the language was imperfect in adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections, and so much had to be supplied by the understanding of the hearer.

In other words, Andrews almost at once faced all of the major problems of Indian conversion and civilization. Some of these were: the evil influence of the trader, Dutch and English; French rivalry and hostility from Canada; matters of religious education as to what stage when baptism should occur; what should be taught in the school and in what language, a pressing problem in Africa today, always related to whether learning a white man's language opens a road to culture or to vice; and the task of learning a native language by grown up men. Just as classical Latin in the first centuries had to be seriously modified to express the ideas of Christianity, so now to teach the new religion in the Indian language might well discourage the most stout hearted. The life and habits of the Indians were interestingly described by Mr. Andrews.

Their chief town or Castle . . . stands by the fort, consisting of 40 or 50 wigwams or houses, palisaded around. Another of their chief towns, between 20 and 30 houses is three or four and twenty miles distant from this. They have several other little towns, 7 or 8 houses in a town, and single houses up and down pretty near their Castle, next to the fort. Their houses are made of mats and bark of trees together with poles about 3 or 4 yards high. Their clothing is a match coat, like a mantle, either a blanket or a bear's skin. They paint and grease themselves . . . cut the hair off from one side of their heads and some of that on the other, they tie up in knots upon the crown with feathers, tufts of fur upon their ears, and some of them wear a bead fasten to their nose, with a thread hang-

<sup>67</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle*, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 146.

<sup>68</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle*, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 146 ff.

<sup>69</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle*, March 9, 1712/13, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 147.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, September 7, 1713, S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 185.

ing down to their lips, bead and wampum about their necks and waists. The men are slothful and lazy enough. The women laborious, true servants of their husbands—carry all the burdens fetch the venison . . . the wood . . . carry the children . . . on their backs, hoe the ground, plant the corn, wait upon their husbands when they eat and take what they leave them. Yet for all this . . . the women court the men when they design marriage. . . . The vices they are most guilty of is drinking . . . especially rum, and changing their wives when they are weary of them. . . . I have been at great expense in treating them, especially at my first coming among them, and am still frequently giving them victuals and drink for they are constant visitors when they are well used."<sup>71</sup>

Despite these difficulties, thirteen baptisms were reported for the period from November 22, 1712 to March 9, 1713.<sup>72</sup> A schoolmaster was much needed, for the assistant to the Interpreter was of slight use, and the Indians had built a school and were anxious to send their children, who numbered in this vicinity about forty.<sup>73</sup> Some of the pupils, however, were sixteen to eighteen years of age. So urgent was this problem that he had hired a teacher, in addition to the interpreter, pending the Society's approval. The Mohawks were apt pupils but needed printed books because the parents wished to have them educated in their own language. As early as February, 1714, Andrews transmitted to the Society, for the printer, manuscripts of the Church Catechism, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, Psalms, and English

<sup>71</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle, March 9, 1712/13*, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 8, pp. 146-147. Mr. Andrews said that changing of wives was not a common practice and as a rule, husband and wife were kind to one another, and shared possessions peaceably.

<sup>72</sup>Complete list of baptisms was inclosed in William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort near Mohawk Castle, March 9, 1712/13*, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 8, p. 257.

Name	Age	Date Baptized	Parents
Aaron	Infant	Nov. 23, 1712	Peter and Cornelia
Cornelius	Infant	Nov. 23, 1712	Sachtachrogi & Anne
Catherine	Infant	Jan. 11, 1713	Simon and Josiena
Elizabeth	2 years	Jan. 11, 1713	Onagsakeartet & Maria
Luke	4 years	Jan. 11, 1713	Phillin and Anne
Ezra	22 years	Jan. 11, 1713	.....
Solomon	2 years	Jan. 25, 1713	Tinliheraroungtwo & Sara
Anne	4 years	Jan. 25, 1713	Uttagrarondagroungh & Anne
Sarah	Infant	Jan. 25, 1713	Uttagrarondagroungh & Anne
Zachariah	4 years	Feb. 22, 1713	Joseph Sagcot & Hannah
Hannah	Infant	Feb. 22, 1713	Joseph Sagcot & Hannah
Aron	Infant	Feb. 22, 1713	Ezra and wife
Mary	Infant (?)	March 8, 1713	Ezra and Maria

<sup>73</sup>Andrews said he would willingly undertake it but his other work took up all of his time. He strongly recommended Mr. Oliver because he spoke both English and Dutch and knew the Indian language as well as his own, as he had been taken a prisoner by the Indians when a mere child.

Hornbooks.<sup>74</sup> He also requested three reams of writing paper for the Indians, six dozen inkhorns, and as many pens. He recommended a minimum of £30 for the schoolteacher because of necessities of living,

There is no manner of pleasure to be proposed by living here, but only the hopes of doing some good among those poor dark ignorant creatures, for in the winter season for 4 or 5 months we can scarce stir abroad by reason of . . . coldness . . . and in summer tormented with flies and mosquitoes . . . and snakes. . . . In the next place the transporting of provisions to this place is very chargeable. The nearest towns to us of the Christian inhabitants, where we by what we want, is Schenectady and Albany. The one about 24 and the other about 44 miles [distant].<sup>75</sup>

His record of baptisms, from March 8 to September 3, 1713, totalled 32; sixteen received the Sacrament at Easter and twenty-four the fifth Sunday after Trinity.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, the next year he visited the Onondaga Indians and baptized several. The father or mother of these had been baptized by the French Missionaries in Canada. The sachems of this tribe refused to have a fort among them, whereas the rank and file were willing to have both a fort and a minister.<sup>77</sup>

Although Rev. Mr. Andrews' first reports on the school were favorable, it soon appeared that, after three or four months, many of the Indians wearied of book learning and their parents would not compel them to conform and adapt themselves to the white man's aims and plans. He hoped, however, that when the parents saw the progress of the persistent pupils, who were beginning to read and write their own language, they would keep their children at school. He was teaching three or four of them English, and had taken two into his own house. The trinkets, such as beads, cord, knives, buttons, etc., were of great help.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup>He said that if the Society could not have them printed in England without mistakes, it should be done in New York where some one could be with the printer. It was decided that the Prayers should be printed in England, but the Hornbook should be printed in the colonies to show respect to the Indians. See the *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), II, March 4, 1713/14.

<sup>75</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, *Queen's Fort by the Mohawk's Castle*, September 7, 1713, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A 8, p. 184.

<sup>76</sup>List of those baptized can be found enclosed in William Andrews to William Taylor, September 7, 1713, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 304-305. Ages range from infants to 75 years.

<sup>77</sup>Mr. Andrews to [Secretary] *Queen's Fort by the Mohawk Castle*, May 25, 1714, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), III, Oct. 15, 1714.

<sup>78</sup>Invoice of Sundries shipped on Board the "Drake", John Tucker, Master, for New York, on the proper account and risk of the Honorable and Reverend Society . . . and goes consigned to Rev. Mr. William Andrews . . . in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), A 8, pp. 306-307. Among Articles sent were: 2 bundles of black and green beads; 2 bundles of crystal and amber colors [sic]; 4 bundles small red; 8 bundles larger red; 6 dozen sizers; 1 doz. knives; 1 doz. forks; 2 dozen boys knives; 3 dozen feather quilts; 2 dozen pictures in quilt frames; 2 dozen small stone rings and three cards colored sleeve buttons. The total price, including transportation, was 5£, 13s, 10d.

Opposition to Mr. Andrew's education was instigated by Dutch traders. He wrote to the Society,

. . . the Dutch traders, a sordid, base sort of people . . . are continually suggesting notions to the Indians to make divisions and factions among them to make them dislike my being among them. One while telling them that the design of the English in building forts among them is only to get their land from them another while caluminating me, telling them that I am an ill man, that I preach a Popish religion to them and that there are none so fit to instruct them as the Dutch. . . ."<sup>79</sup>

Many of the Dutch informed the Indians that religious instruction was worthless, and they told Mr. Andrews that Indian Christianization was hopeless. But he affirmed that as far as he understood the Indian tribal customs and, "considering they have no laws among them, they are, many of them, better Christians than they [Dutch] themselves are."<sup>80</sup> Mr. Andrews particularly opposed Dutch liquor selling and Sunday trading, and the Dutch, in turn, attempted to drive him away. But the Society steadfastly encouraged him, and in June, 1714, sent him three dozen gilt hornbooks, three dozen gilt primers, one ream Dutch paper, one ream fine writing paper, one ream ordinary paper, six dozen leather inkhorns, and six dozen pen knives.<sup>81</sup> In order to solve the language difficulty, the missionary urged the Society to send him two English boys, between the ages of 9 and 12 to be trained as interpreters. Although his work with children and women went on with success, the men were too often carried away by drink. When asked why they got drunk, the Indians often replied, why do you Christians sell us so much rum.<sup>82</sup> He implored the Society to use its influence to procure a Queen's Proclamation or an Act of Parliament to restrain all the provinces from selling strong liquors to the Indians.<sup>83</sup> For example, when he visited the Onondagas all of them were drunk on liquor just received from Albany, and consequently would not let him preach. But he believed that if the So-

<sup>79</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, Queen's Fort near the Mohawks, May 25, 1714, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 9, pp. 123-125.

<sup>80</sup>William Andrews to William Taylor, Queen's Fort near the Mohawks, May 25, 1714, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 9, pp. 123-125.

<sup>81</sup>Invoice of a box shipped on board the "Antelope", John King, Master, for New York, on Account and Risk of the . . . Society . . . goes consigned to Rev. Mr. William Andrews, June 20, 1714, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 9, p. 72.

<sup>82</sup>The Dutch traders were selling rum by the wholesale, since the act of assembly against it had expired, and it was not thought likely to be renewed, because the argument was that if it were, the Indians would go into another province to buy it. However, such an act was passed in 1717, see Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, September 20, 1717.

<sup>83</sup>Mr. Andrews to [Secretary], Mohawk Castle, October 15, 1714, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), III, June 17, 1715.

ciety would send him a large box of pipes to give the kings of the nations, these could be used as inducements for the Indian Sachems to allow him to preach. Strangely enough it was even difficult for him to count the Indians, because if they believed anyone were trying to count them, they would move away, imagining some ill design.

In 1715, Mr. Andrews had about 100 of the baptized Indians coming to his church constantly, when they were at home;<sup>84</sup> many more had been baptized, but were no better nor lived otherwise than the heathen Indians. The first flush of success was being followed by a period of apathy, and his school was also diminishing, and only six or seven came to learn their language. To encourage the Indians, he asked the Society to adopt a system of prizes of blankets, shirts, and stockings for regular school attendance. In his opinion, if they did not come for this promise, it would be useless for the Society to be at any more expense either in printing books, or in continuing the Schoolmaster.<sup>85</sup> The scheme failed and on October 18, 1717, the schoolmaster was discharged. Henceforth the missionary himself was to teach the few remaining pupils.<sup>86</sup> Governor Hunter was disappointed with this action, for he believed that the best way to convert the Indians was to erect schools among them, and teach the young the English language and the Christian religion at the same time. The Governor correctly diagnosed a main difficulty when he pointed out to the Society that religion in the Indian language sounded oddly, the idioms of the two being widely different. He continued, "What we say in one short word costs them a long sentence which causes the mistake of writing down words of yards length in all translations."<sup>87</sup> Roman Catholics in their Indian work usually followed the procedure of carrying on their religious work in an European language, rather than attempting to make an Indian language over into an adequate medium for the expression of Christian culture.

For the next few years, Mr. Andrews made little progress, and complaints against him were sent to the Society. One Rev. Thomas Haliday, who objected to Mr. Andrews' methods, declared that the prayers which had been printed in New York were not true Indian. He asked to be appointed Indian missionary.<sup>88</sup> The Society at once, upon

<sup>84</sup>Mr. Andrews to [Secretary], Kings Fort, Mohawk Castle, October 17, 1715, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, January 11, 1716/17.

<sup>85</sup>Mr. Andrews thought it proper to defer printing the Catechism and Vocabulary until the school increased.

<sup>86</sup>The discharge for the schoolmaster was sent to the Governor of New York, not to Mr. Andrews.

<sup>87</sup>Governor Hunter to [Secretary], New York, October 2, 1716, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, September 20, 1717, see also *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, February 13, 1718/19.

<sup>88</sup>Thomas Haliday to [Secretary], Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, July 13, 1715, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, III, February 3, 1715/16. Mr. Haliday was formerly of New York.

the receipt of this letter, wrote to Governor Hunter to ascertain the facts. He replied that, although little progress had been made by Andrews, his relative failure was not due to his want of care or attendance upon his duties, but nevertheless, he believed that a new man should be put in his place.<sup>89</sup> The Society decided to discontinue his salary. At the end of two centuries and for the same reasons which baffled Mr. Andrews in these early days, the solution of Indian education has not been found.

Without an outlet for use of the white man's culture, the average Indian could not interest himself in alien studies. Neither force, nor the unlovely example of the white man's life and his unintelligible customs, supplied the inner motive power which alone could make him struggle to exchange his racial independence for the white man's economy.

On July 11, 1719, Mr. Andrews wrote that he had received his order to leave in case he had no better success among the Indians. He explained that he had given up hope, as they still continued in drunkenness, and filthy living,<sup>90</sup> and he would leave shortly for Virginia. He left all the plates, books, and other furniture at the chapel, and a large Common Prayer Book he loaned to Mr. Barclay. The interpreter was given the manuscripts in the Indian language, and he gave an Indian lad and four girls several of the books that were printed in their language.<sup>91</sup> All of the other books were left with Mr. Jenney, chaplain at the garrison in New York.

At Mr. Andrews' departure, the Rev. Thomas Barclay asked to combine the Mohawk Mission with his Albany work, but the Society decided to withdraw his allowance also.<sup>92</sup> Barclay's financial distress apparently affected his mind, for on July 5, 1722, the clergy of New York wrote to David Humphreys, asking help for Barclay's family. This letter clearly related the missionary's devotion to his duties and revealed the pathetic condition to which he and his family had been reduced:

He hath been all along diligent in his cure and hath taken great pains in catechizing Indian infidels in a place where they are very numerous, but of late many misfortunes successfully

<sup>89</sup>Governor Hunter to [Secretary], New York, November 4, 1718, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, February 13, 1718/19.

<sup>90</sup>William Anders to [Secretary], New York, July 11, 1719, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, IV, December 18, 1719. However, he said the Indians were talking of moving ten or fifteen miles further from the Christian inhabitants, in order to be nearer to another Mohawk Castle; if this were done, Mr. Andrews believed a great deal of the lewdness and swearing would be eliminated.

<sup>91</sup>Mr. Andrews believed they would soon forget what they had learned because they took no interest in their books.

<sup>92</sup>Thomas Barclay to David Humphreys, Albany, New York, June 13, 1721, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 15, pp. 93-94.

attending him have at length brought him to an outrageous distraction such has obliged his friends to confine him to a dark room and in the mean time the small salary which allowed him not being paid, his family (a wife and 4 children) are reduced to extreme poverty.<sup>93</sup>

Several years passed before another missionary was appointed at Albany. However, work with the Indians in other sections of the colony was progressing. From Richmond the Rev. Eneas MacKenzie wrote to the Society, that he had baptized an Indian man, twenty-two years of age, and a native of the province. He wrote about the Indian thus,

Coming accidentally upon this island he was induced to learn to read English and then was desirous to understand something of the Christian religion. I hope he will bring no scandal upon his holy profession, for he is a sober and seemingly serious young man, and there is not any reason of suspecting that he desired baptism upon any view of temporal interest or respect (it being one of the crying crimes of the generality of this country not only to discourage but to ridicule the baptizing of negroes and Indians)<sup>94</sup>

Mr. Elias Neau reported the baptism of an Indian woman in May 1722;<sup>95</sup> Rev. James Wetmore, of Brookhaven<sup>96</sup> reported 554 native Indians in his county of Suffolk, most of them being brought up in English families, but inasmuch as no care was taken to bring them over to Christianity, he hoped a missionary could be sent them.<sup>97</sup>

In New York city, Mr. William Huddleston, a schoolmaster, was catechizing the Indian slaves on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.<sup>98</sup> After Mr. Huddleston's death, in 1724, another catechist was requested to take care of the 1400 Indian and negro slaves.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>93</sup>Clergy of New York to David Humphreys in behalf of Mr. Barclay, New York, July 5, 1722, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 16, pp. 206-207. Mr. Barclay was supposed to receive £50 pension from the Crown, but for four years it had been unpaid.

<sup>94</sup>Eneas MacKenzie to David Humphreys, Richmond [New York], August 22, 1720, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 14, p. 135.

<sup>95</sup>Elias Neau to David Humphreys [New York, summer 1722], in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 16, p. 204; *ibid.*, New York, May 22, 1722, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), IV, February 15, 1722-23.

<sup>96</sup>Rev. Mr. Wetmore's mission was at Staten Island, but he said he could do no service there so he removed to Brookhaven, see S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 18, pp. 173-174.

<sup>97</sup>James Wetmore to David Humphreys, Brookhaven, Long Island, May 11, 1724, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 18, pp. 173-174; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), V, September 19, 1724.

<sup>98</sup>William Vesey to David Humphreys, New York, November 8, 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B I, No. 85. Mr. Huddleston passed away two years after Mr. Elias Neau, in 1724.

<sup>99</sup>The Rector, Churchwardens, and Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, July 5, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B I, No. 73; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), V, September 16, 1726.

In 1728, six years after Mr. Barclay's misfortune, the Rev. John Miln was sent to the Albany mission. In the summer of 1729, he baptized three Mohawk children, and administered the communion to ten.<sup>100</sup> He wrote to the Society,

The Indians seem very well disposed to receive the blessed Gospel among them. Everytime I go there they meet me with acclamations of joy, at some distance from their Castle where they discharge a volley of shot. I meet with much respect, kindness and civility from them. Some of them have been pretty well instructed in the grounds of Christianity by Mr. Andrews, the late Missionary to the Society am[ong] them, and indeed, they very much regret the loss of th[at] good man. At divine service where the interpreter reads the prayers and a sermon in their own language they behave themselves decently and devoutly.<sup>101</sup>

Mr. Miln states that he would continue to visit the Mohawks until a missionary was sent them, but, as the labor was great and hiring an interpreter expensive, he wished the Society would grant him a consideration. The Society accordingly gave him £10 for his services among the Indians.<sup>102</sup> He visited them at least four times yearly, each time remaining four or five days, offering the Indians the Sacrament, baptizing the children, and preaching to them in their own language through an interpreter. His special care was for those that were already Christians. The number of constant communicants among the Mohawks was fourteen, and his hearers about fifty.<sup>103</sup> The Society's charitable assistance, Mr. Miln declared, could be no better answered than among the Indians. At Easter, in 1731, fifteen Mohawks were present as communicants and twelve children and two Indian women were baptized.<sup>104</sup>

Although Mr. Miln was enthusiastic concerning his work among the Indians, he felt that he could not in addition do justice to his parish at Albany. He wrote as follows to Commissary William Vesey of New York,

I have often informed the Society of the propensity and inclination of the Mohawk Indians, to receive the Gospel; and I have taken pains and employed all the time I could spare from the exercise of my function in Albany to instruct them,

<sup>100</sup>John Miln to David Humphreys, Albany, November 3, 1729, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B I, No. 53.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), V, January 16, 1729.

<sup>103</sup>John Miln to Secretary, Albany, November 4, 1730, in S. P. G. MSS., A 23, pp. 85-86.

<sup>104</sup>John Miln to David Humphreys, New York, November 2, 1731, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 23, p. 345.

since it pleases God to still [store] up in their hearts a desire to receive Christianity. . . . That good work can be furthered by nothing so much as to have a proper person instructed in their tongue. Since ideas can but be perfectly conveyed to them, by the means of an interpreter whose immoral life contributes to lessen the impression of his dictates.

Now, sir, as the son of the Revd. Mr. Barclay . . . is desirous of acquiring their language, designs to live amongst them for sometime and instruct them, I hope you'll recommend him to the Society's bounty.<sup>105</sup>

In 1735, the state of Mr. Miln's health obliged him to go to England.<sup>106</sup> The following year an account of the state of the Church at Albany and the Mohawk Indians was laid before the Society by Lieutenant Walter Butler, commander of the British garrison at Fort Hunter. He testified that the Mohawk Indians were becoming civilized, the result of the industry of the Rev. Mr. Miln in teaching them the Christian Religion. The communicants exceeded twenty. The Mohawk Indians, as well as the Conajoharies, had often asked Lieut. Butler to try to persuade Mr. Miln to come oftener.<sup>107</sup> The Society had allowed him £10 per annum for his services among the Indians in 1730 and 1731, and he now requested £10 a year for his last four years work, which compensation was agreed to by the Society.<sup>108</sup>

From the time of Rev. Mr. Miln's retirement to the appointment of his successor, Henry Barclay, in 1737, the work with the Mohawks temporarily broke off, but the work with Indians in other parts of New York continued. For example, Mr. Edward Davies, schoolmaster of Southampton on the Island of Nassau in New York, taught several Indian children;<sup>109</sup> Rev. Mr. Charlton of New York city had a number of Indian catachumens; Rev. William Harrison baptized ". . . in a religious French family . . . one Indian woman . . .";<sup>110</sup> and similar letters were received by the Society from James Wetmore of

<sup>105</sup>John Miln to William Vesey, New York, November 14, 1732, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 25, p. 42. Mr. Barclay had spent four years at the college at New Haven, and made excellent progress in education, and Mr. Miln believed he would become "an ornament to the Church."

<sup>106</sup>Mr. Miln's mission was temporarily supplied by Mr. Orem, Chaplain to the Four Independent Companies, see Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VI, January 16, 1735/36.

<sup>107</sup>The Indians often had to come to Albany to have their children baptized, or to be married. Certificate of Mr. Miln's services among the Mohawk Indians, delivered to the Society, January 16, 1735/36, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 26, p. 4. The certificate is signed by Walter Butler and sworn before James De Lancey, October 26, 1735.

<sup>108</sup>S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 26, p. 1; Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VII, February 20, 1735/36.

<sup>109</sup>Edward Davies to David Humphreys, Southampton, New York, November 6, 1733, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 1, No. 9.

<sup>110</sup>William Harrison to David Humphreys, Staten Island, November 20, [1735], Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), VII, April 16, 1736.

Rye and Mr. Jacob Eblig of Conajohare. The latter stated that the Indians were very numerous in his parish.<sup>111</sup>

Although Mr. Henry Barclay, son of Rev. Thomas Barclay, was not appointed missionary to Albany and the Mohawks until October 21, 1737,<sup>112</sup> he had been appointed as catechist to the Fort Hunter Indians on May 29, 1735.<sup>113</sup> In his first letter to the Society,<sup>114</sup> he stated that the Indians desired instruction in Christianity, and the following year in a letter to the Secretary gave details of his regime,

I have made myself master of the pronunciation of their [Indian] tongue, and do perform Divine Service therein every Sunday, which they constantly and very devoutly attend; and understand me perfectly well. I daily teach above forty young men and children to read and write their own tongue, most of whom make vast progress. I also keep a Catechetical school, every evening, which all—both young and old attend. I read an exposition of the Catechism (translated for . . . Mr. Andrews) every Sunday. There are but three or four adults remaining unbaptized at Fort Hunter, and 25 infants have been baptized since my residing among them, by the Rev. M. Oël, a German Episcopal Minister. The number of communicants [is] above 40. . . .<sup>115</sup>

Mr. Barclay, as was to be expected, found the language extremely difficult,<sup>116</sup> and had to have an interpreter, and recommended the one formerly employed by Mr. Andrews.

In the spring of 1737, Mr. Barclay went, as was necessary, to England to receive Holy Orders, and, on October 21st of the same year, was appointed missionary to the Mohawk Indians and to Albany, with a salary of £50 a year. For the translation of parts of the Scripture and of the Common Prayer Book, he was granted £5.<sup>117</sup> With one-half his time devoted to the Indians, his early reports told of a steady reformation of manners and an increase in virtue. In No-

<sup>111</sup>Jacob Eblig to [Secretary] Canojahare, September 30, 1734, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, May 21, 1736. Mr. Eblig asked for some recompense for his instruction of the Indians.

<sup>112</sup>*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, January 20, 1737/38.

<sup>113</sup>Henry Barclay to David Humphreys, Fort Hunter, November 11, 1735, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 26, pp. 71-72.

<sup>114</sup>Dated November 11, 1735, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 26, pp. 71-72; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, July 16, 1736.

<sup>115</sup>Henry Barclay to David Humphreys, Fort Hunter, August 31, 1736, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, A 26, pp. 283-284; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, December 17, 1736. In this letter, as well as his first, i. e., November 11, 1735, he asks for more money, as his board alone cost him £15 a year, and it was necessary for him to buy a house and hire an interpreter. He had been allowed £20 a year by the Society.

<sup>116</sup>The verbs were varied, and the conjugations numerous.

<sup>117</sup>*Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VII, January 20, 1737/38. This £5 allowance was made instead of the usual one for the buying of small tracts, etc.

vember, 1738, he said he had 500 Indians under his care, 50 of whom were communicants,<sup>118</sup> but his two following "Notitia Parochialis", dated June 3, 1739<sup>119</sup> and November 18, 1739,<sup>120</sup> showed slight increases, including the baptism of two adult Indians.<sup>121</sup>

About the middle of August, 1740, the Governor of New York had a conference with representatives of the Six Nations at Albany, to renew their League of Friendship, and Mr. Barclay was asked to preach to them.<sup>122</sup>

The Mohawks, (of whom there were above Seventy present) did then for the first Time make the Responses in the Prayers, and perform'd in So decent and Devout a Manner as Agreeably Surprised all that were present. The Governor also observed to them the great happiness they enjoy'd in having the means of Instruction afforded them and earnestly exhorted them to persevere in their profession.<sup>123</sup>

In his analysis of this conference, Mr. Barclay emphasized the necessity of stationing a schoolmaster among the Indians because the Society could not be readily effective unless the youth were taught to read in their own language.<sup>124</sup>

At the very time that Mr. Barclay asked for an interpreter, an unknown benefactor gave the Society £50 for work with the Mohawks;<sup>125</sup> the Society added £10 to this amount for a translation into Mohawk of one of the Gospels, and the Bishop of Man's Essay on the Instruc-

<sup>118</sup>Rev. Mr. Barclay to [Secretary], Albany, November 10, 1738, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, VIII, April 13, 1739. His "Notitia Parochialis" contained:

Number of inhabitants in the City and County	10610 whites
Slaves or blacks	1110
Indians under his care	500
Communicants at Albany	35
Communicants among Indians	50
Professors of Church of England (besides Indians and garrisons)	110
Baptized within half year	20 infants
Admitted to Holy Communion	8

<sup>119</sup>S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. I, pp. 127-128.

<sup>120</sup>S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. II, p. 139.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup>The sermon had to be composed with the assistance of the interpreter; however, Mr. Barclay received much satisfaction in knowing that he was well understood.

<sup>123</sup>Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, Fort Hunter, October 15, 1740, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 7, Pt. II, p. 141; *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, Vol. VIII, March 20, 1740/41.

<sup>124</sup>Barclay's greatest hopes were built on the Indian youths, and he had tried several ways to obtain an allowance for a teacher, but to no avail.

<sup>125</sup>Additional light has been thrown on the great generosity of British people during the middle years of the eighteenth century in a recent study, W. S. Lewis and Ralph M. Williams, *Private Charity in England, 1747-1757*, p. 28, 1938, Yale University Press.

tion of the Indians.<sup>126</sup> The Society also gave Barclay instructions to appoint an Indian schoolmaster. Barclay was delighted with the new aggressive policies. He found the drunkenness of the Indians much decreased. He had not seen above ten drunken people all summer, whereas on his first coming, he saw at least that many every day. Besides, his Communicants had increased from 50 to 58.<sup>127</sup> Strangely however, just at the moment of success in America, the debate within the Society in England was renewed on the matter of spiritual care for Indians versus the claims of the white colonists. This question was reopened by Dr. Henry Stebbing, who, in 1742, preached the annual Sermon, asserting that the first object of the S. P. G. was not to convert heathen in the colonies but to care for its own people. He declared, "The Converting of Heathens is a *secondary, incidental* Point," and he saw no great likelihood of the conversion of the Indians, mentioning the Mohawks especially.<sup>128</sup>

In America, Mr. Barclay proceeded with his plans, and, with the advice and Consent of the Governor and Commissioners, appointed two schoolmasters at ten pounds New York currency to each.

One *Cornelius* a Sacheme at the Lower and One Daniel att the Upper Town. The Former is very faithful and Diligent and vastly Successful; and so is the Latter. . . . The Society will be pleased to Observe, that there are two hunting Seasons, when the Indians take all their Families with them; at these times the Schoolmasters have leave to go a hunting and are Commonly Two Months Out at a time.

The Building of the Church and my own house, and a great Scarcity of Provisions among the Indians, which has Obligated them to be much abroad; have prevented my catechising as usual. . . .<sup>129</sup>

The schoolmasters were obliged to write their own manuscripts for instruction, for there were of course no Indian books for that purpose, and besides, the interpreter and translator that Mr. Barclay had engaged had died. Encouraging was the fact that another present of five guineas was given to this work; and to Mr. Barclay, the Society

<sup>126</sup>Henry Barclay to Rev. Dr. Berriman (Fellow of Eaton College, London), Albany, December 7, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 9, No. 83.

<sup>127</sup>Henry Barclay to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, November 9, 1741, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 9, No. 81-82; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), IX, February 19, 1741/42.

<sup>128</sup>Sermons preached before S. P. G. in St. Mary Le Bow, February 19, 1742, by Henry Stebbing, Chancellor of Sarum. (Huntington Library).

<sup>129</sup>Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, November 17, 1742, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 10, No. 112.

gave a gratuity of £50 because of "the expensiveness and laboriousness of the mission."<sup>130</sup>

But in the midst of King George's War, smooth sailing was not to be expected. In fact, about the middle of January, 1745, a severe disturbance occurred among the Indians. Six Indians coming home from Schenectady, alarmed the whole Indian town by telling them that the white people were coming "to cut them all in Pieces." This caused most of the Indians to flee into the woods. Mr. Barclay gave the following account to the Society,

As Soon as I heard It, I call'd . . . many of them together . . . which had a good Effect. . . . But the Authors of the Sedition, opposed us with Violence, . . . and warn'd them [the Indians] . . . that I was the chief Contriver of the Destruction intended against them. . . . I was a very bad man and in League with the Devil who was an Author of All the Books I have given them. Very few of the Lower Mohawks could be brought to believe in this. . . . But the Upper Town was all in a Flame. . . . I gave notice to Commissioners of Indian Affairs . . . who . . . prevailed with . . . them. . . . They promised to lay aside all thoughts of It for the Future.  
 . . . <sup>131</sup>

This affair produced much uneasiness, and was reputed to be work of French who had some emissaries endeavoring to corrupt the Indians away from the British allegiance.

Amidst all this confusion, Barclay exerted himself vigorously, and in October, 1745, was able to report baptisms of three Tuscarora Indians, one of the Oneida tribe, and the attendance of seven Mohawks at Communion in the past six months.<sup>132</sup> In his absence, he engaged "some of the better sort of Indians" to lead prayers on Sundays. Their salary was paid out of a benefaction of £35 given to him for use in the Indian work.<sup>133</sup> About this same time, he was asked to accept the

<sup>130</sup>Philip Bearcroft to Henry Barclay, [Charterhouse, London], June 14, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B. 10, No. 196. In addition, the Society recommended that Mr. Barclay receive his father's pension of £50 per annum for officiating to the Garrison at New York. The petition was granted. See S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B. 13, p. 38.

<sup>131</sup>Henry Barclay to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, March 12, 1744/45, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B. 13, pp. 314-315. For a survey covering the whole period of the Iroquois alliance with the English, see John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, 1938, Macmillan; reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 25, No. 3, 398-399, December, 1938.

<sup>132</sup>Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, October 21, 1745, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B. 13, p. 317; *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), X, November 15, 1745.

<sup>133</sup>Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 9, 1746, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B. 14, p. 99. This £35 had been given several years previous and Mr. Barclay said he had forgotten "to mention the Benefaction."

call of Trinity Church, New York, as Commissary Vesey had died.<sup>134</sup> At first he hesitated because of his interest in the Indians, but his efforts were thwarted and his safety endangered on account of the war (1740-1748). In fact, the flourishing county of Albany had become a near wilderness, deserted by its inhabitants and almost laid waste by the French Indians.<sup>135</sup> Governor Clinton felt that the removal of Mr. Barclay from Albany would be bad policy and so informed Secretary Philip Bearcroft,

. . . considering Mr. Barclay's situation amongst the Indians, whose assistance might have been of use in the intended Expedition against Canada; Their uneasiness at Mr. Barclay's removal must evidently appear from a petition I have since had from the Indians, and which I have transmitted to the Ministry with proper remarks: that petition will show how ill grounded the excuse is, which some of his friends have trumped up for calling him from them, that he is in danger of his life amongst them, which is contrary to truth.<sup>136</sup>

Nevertheless, Barclay remained in New York, but promised faithfully to make the Mohawks his special concern and care, and offered to try to find a proper person as his successor.<sup>137</sup> He asked the Society to give a small sum to a German clergyman of his Church, a Mr. Oël, who lived in the Indian country between the Upper and Lower Mohawk Towns. Mr. Barclay explained, "This Gentleman administers the Sacraments to the Indians Some of whom, I also learn, continue to meet together every Lord's Day."<sup>138</sup>

During this decade, from 1740 to 1750, work with the Indians was also under way in other parts of New York, but these cells of activity were on a small scale. The Rev. Thomas Temple, school teacher at Hempstead, was teaching one Indian to read his Testament;<sup>139</sup> the fol-

<sup>134</sup>Letter from Churchwardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, December 5, 1746, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, February 20, 1746/47; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 14, p. 93.

<sup>135</sup>Henry Barclay to [Secretary], [New York], November 2, 1746, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, X, February 20, 1746/47. The Mohawks could not be prevailed upon to join the English but kept up a secret correspondence with the French Indians.

<sup>136</sup>George Clinton to Philip Bearcroft, New York, December 20, 1746, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 14, p. 91.

<sup>137</sup>Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, New York, July 18, 1747, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 15, fol. 93.

<sup>138</sup>Henry Barclay to Philip Bearcroft, New York, April 16, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 16, No. 46. Mr. Oël started from Germany as minister to the Palatines, was ordained in London by Bishop Robinson, thus alienating many of his people. After the Palatine settlement in New York dispersed, he bought a small plantation at Conajohore, where he lived and administered Sacraments to the Indians.

<sup>139</sup>Thomas Temple to Philip Bearcroft, Hempstead, December 14, 1741, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 10, No. 90.

lowing year one Indian boy learned to count up to ten, almost painful evidence of the difficulties encountered;<sup>140</sup> the Rev. Isaac Browne of Brookhaven said that some Indians came often to his Church,<sup>141</sup> and, in September, 1743, he wrote, "I have Christened . . . an Indian Woman, after proper Instruction. She is a remarkable Instance of one reclaimed from a prophane. . . . Course, to a Life of Religion and Piety."<sup>142</sup> Thomas Colgan, of Jamaica, had a few Indians in his parish, as did the Rev. Thomas Standard of Westchester.

In 1748, Barclay designated Mr. John Ogilvie<sup>143</sup> as a proper person to go among the Mohawks.<sup>144</sup> After spending some weeks in New York with Mr. Barclay, learning the Indian language, he took up his duties in March, 1750.<sup>145</sup> Mr. Ogilvie was received warmly by the principal inhabitants at the time of his arrival. Many Indians were away from home, so he did not visit the Mohawks until Easter week, where he ". . . was kindly received by Col. Johnson, a gentleman of the greatest influence and interest in these parts."<sup>146</sup> Sir William Johnson's interest in Mr. Ogilvie is an early example of his coöperation with the Anglican missionaries. From 1749, until his death in July, 1774, Sir William, Government Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America, pressed steadily for the Christianization and civilization of the Indians. Consequently, the history of the Mohawk and Albany missions from the time of Mr. Ogilvie's appointment up to the very eve of American Independence is necessarily intertwined with the career of Sir William. A detailed account of his coöperation with the missionaries, John Ogilvie (1749-62), J. J. Oël, assistant from 1750-1777, Thomas Brown (1760-1766), Harry Munro (1768-1775), and John Stuart (1770-1778) has been given recently;<sup>147</sup> therefore, only a brief summary is given here.

<sup>140</sup>Thomas Temple to Philip Bearcroft, Hempstead, May 17, 1742, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 10, No. 91.

<sup>141</sup>Mr. Browne characterized the heathens as a "Miraculous compound of Paganism and Methodism." Isaac Browne to Philip Bearcroft, Brookhaven, March 25, 1743, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 11, No. 138.

<sup>142</sup>Isaac Browne to Philip Bearcroft, Brookhaven, September 25, 1743, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 11, No. 140.

<sup>143</sup>Mr. Ogilvie was a native of New York, educated at Yale, and in 1747 became lay-leader to Dr. Samuel Johnson, Rector of Stratford, Connecticut. In 1748, Mr. Ogilvie was ordained in London, in order to become a missionary for the *S. P. G.*

<sup>144</sup>Henry Barclay to [Secretary], New York, November 7, 1748, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, February 17, 1748/49; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 16, No. 71.

<sup>145</sup>John Ogilvie to [Secretary], Albany, July 27, 1750, in *Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.)*, XI, January 18, 1750/51; *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 18, Nos. 102-103.

<sup>146</sup>John Ogilvie to [Secretary], Albany, July 27, 1750, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 18, Nos. 102-103.

<sup>147</sup>For a detailed account of the co-operation between Sir William Johnson and The Society, see Frank J. Klingberg, "Sir William Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, (1749-1774)" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, March, 1939.

In June, 1750, Mr. Ogilvie again visited the Indians, and was met with congratulatory addresses from the principal Sachems; yet he found the Indians universally degenerated, and, since the war, entirely given up to drunkenness. The only hope was in the rising generation, and he asked the Society to send a schoolmaster,<sup>148</sup> preferably someone from Yale. In the meantime, he was instructing nearly twenty Indian children daily in reading and writing.

At the Upper Castle, the Indians were not so addicted to drink, which vice was decried by a pious Indian named Abraham. Abraham neglected his hunting in order to instruct his brothers in religion, and, while others were away he conducted Divine Service among the aged people and children. Many more such Indian teachers were needed, Mr. Ogilvie explained, to offset the wiles of the French priests to gain the Indian's affection.<sup>149</sup> To give a brief word of what was to follow after the mid century it may be said that the Society, in England, at this time intensified its interest in Indian education, as is shown by the Bishop of Carlisle's Sermon before the S. P. G. in 1752. He argued that the Indians were capable of instruction, and added, "Can we doubt then, but by proper Instruction, they are capable of making Improvements in every Branch of Knowledge; and that the Truth of the Christian Religion, when communicated to them, would be received by them?"<sup>150</sup> The Bishop agreed with all the foregoing missionaries to the Indians, that a worker among the natives should attain a competent knowledge of their language.

Many of the white men of New York, who could converse with the Indians, had a bad effect upon Indian morale. Mr. Ogilvie wrote to the Society,

The generality of the professors of Christianity who have any considerable dealings with the Indians by their conduct give the most convincing proof that they regard them only as mere *Machines* to promote their secular interest; and not their fellow creatures, rational and immortal agents, equally dear to the Father of Spirits, capable of the same improvement in virtue, and the purchase of the same precious blood; in short, *the salt of the Earth hath* (in these parts) *lost its savour*; and not one thing that I can mention as a circumstance of encouragement in this momentous undertaking I have made use of

<sup>148</sup>Mr. Ogilvie mentioned an Independent Schoolmaster of New England, who for some time had been soliciting the Indians under his mission without his knowledge, and therefore would not consent to send to the teacher the Indians in his territory.

<sup>149</sup>Mr. Ogilvie mentioned the fact that while he was visiting the Upper Castle, the Indians received a belt of money from a Popish priest of Codroghque (Fort Frontenac), inviting them to embrace the true religion and expressed concern at their being heretics. The Mohawks refused compliance.

<sup>150</sup>Rich Osbaldeston (Bishop of Carlisle), Sermon preached before S. P. G. in St. Mary Le Bow, February 21, 1752, pp. 1-20. (Huntington Library.)

everything that had the least probability of being serviceable to the main end. I've only been as it were, rowing against stream, and have not been able to stem the Torrent by reason of the extravagant quantities of rum that is daily sold to these poor creatures.

It is impossible for me to express . . . the shocking effects of strong drink upon these people. They commit the most barbarous actions. . . .<sup>151</sup>

In other words, the consensus of opinion was that the best chance for success lay in the education of the young. Mr. Ogilvie, on Sir William's advice,<sup>152</sup> recommended one Petrus Paulus as schoolmaster for the Indian children. Paulus was accordingly appointed by the Society with a salary of £7. 10 sterling per year.<sup>153</sup> This appointment was in line with the more aggressive instructions sent to America in 1756 while the fate of the continent hung in the balance. The part relating to the Indians admonished the missionaries,

That, as far as Circumstance render it practicable, you embrace every Opportunity of exerting your best Endeavours for the Conversion of the Indians to the Christian Faith, which good work is not only pious and Charitable in the more important Views of Religion, but highly beneficial likewise in a Civil View, as promoting the security and Interest of the American Colonies. An Advantage of which our Enemy's are by no means insensible or negligent; That for the more effectual Accomplishment of this good Work, You earnestly recommend an honest, human, and Friendly Treatment of these poor people. . . .<sup>154</sup>

In short, then, as in later generations, the native was to be not merely a Christian but a "Warlike Christian Man," ready to fight for the white man's security. Indeed, Paulus was so diligent and successful as a schoolmaster, teaching above 40 children daily, that the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie thought a similar project should be started with the Indians of the Lower Castle, a plan agreed to by the Society.

Mr. Ogilvie's reports of baptisms and sacraments administered to Indians kept a steady pace. In addition to his work as missionary, he was an army chaplain as well. In the latter capacity, in February, 1760, he wrote an exceptionally interesting and important letter con-

<sup>151</sup>John Ogilvie to Philip Bearcroft, Albany, June 29, 1752, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B 20, No. 55.

<sup>152</sup>Sir William Johnson to [Secretary], New York, October 3, 1749, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (*L. C. Trans.*), B 17, No. 117.

<sup>153</sup>John Ogilvie to [Secretary], New York, July 19, 1753, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (*L. C. Trans.*), Dec. 21, 1753.

<sup>154</sup>Instructions for the missionaries in America formulated by the Special Committee, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (*L. C. Trans.*), XIII, March [11?], 1756.

cerning the French and Indian War to the Society. He accompanied the Royal American Regiment on the expedition to Niagara. The Mohawks were all in this service and almost all of the Six Nations, numbering 940 fighters at the time of the siege.<sup>155</sup> He officiated constantly for the Mohawks and Oneidas, choosing exhortations suitable to the emergency. The Oneidas met him near their Castle, and brought ten children to be baptized. During the campaign, he had an opportunity of conversing with some representative member of every one of the Six Nation Confederacy, and in every nation he found a few who had been instructed by the priests of Canada and appeared zealous Roman Catholics. From good authority, Mr. Ogilvie was informed,

. . . that there is not a Nation bordering upon the five great lakes, or the banks of the Ohio, the Mississippi, all the way to Louisiana, but are supplied with priests and schoolmasters, and have very decent places of worship. . . . How ought we to blush at our coldness, and shameful indifferences in the propagation of our most excellent religion? The Harvest truly is great but the labourers few. The Indians themselves are not wanting in making very pertinent reflections upon our inattention to these points!

The possession of . . . Niagara . . . gives us a . . . opportunity of . . . cultivating a friendship with those numerous tribes . . . who inhabit the borders of *Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and even Lake Superiour*.<sup>156</sup>

In May of the same year, 1760, Mr. Ogilvie lamented the fact that the leading men of the country did not countenance the conversion and education of the Indians with adequate zeal or application. He wrote they did nothing to oppose it, but he never ". . . met with any actual countenance in this service from any of them, excepting *Sir William Johnson*, who, I must do him justice to say, has been very much my patron and friend, which has been of no small consequence to me among the Indians."<sup>157</sup>

As a crusader against the French, Mr. Ogilvie reported in this same letter that he was preparing again to march with the troops to Canada, and, as all the Mohawks were going, he would still be acting as their missionary. Proceeding to Oswego under General Amherst, Mr. Ogilvie tarried at Fort Hunter for three days, preached twice and baptized several white and Indian children, and at Oneida Town, on

<sup>155</sup>John Ogilvie to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, February 1, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 105.

<sup>156</sup>John Ogilvie to [Philip Bearcroft], Albany, February 1, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 105.

<sup>157</sup>John Ogilvie to [Secretary], Albany, May 20, 1760, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 106.

July 18th, he also officiated and baptized six adult Indians,<sup>158</sup> fourteen children, and married nine couples.

In the absence of Mr. Ogilvie, the Rev. Thomas Brown was sent to Albany and the Mohawk Castle.<sup>159</sup> The Rev. Mr. Oël, assistant to Mr. Ogilvie, continued his labors, although he had reached the age of 72. He wrote to the Society, in November, 1761, that a school had been erected in the Upper Fort for the instruction of all who desired it; this gave the Indians an opportunity of being taught in their own language by one of their kinsman, who took great pleasure in teaching thirty youths reading and writing. However, as the teacher was receiving no compensation, Mr. Oël felt that this good work would have to be discontinued.<sup>160</sup> Mr. Brown, although he began to officiate in 1760, was not appointed missionary until Mr. Ogilvie had been given the position of chaplain to one battalion and made deputy to several others,<sup>161</sup> and consequently was unable to attend to his congregation at Albany, or to serve the Mohawk Indians. The Rev. Mr. Brown's first reception was favorable, but soon his congregation was in dissension, ". . . arising from the deep laid schemes of the Presbyterian minister and others to destroy the good harmony. . . ."<sup>162</sup> Therefore Mr. Brown felt it best to resign, because, he said, "I must acknowledge that I think my residence in this place will by no means answer the Society's good intentions."<sup>163</sup> The year of Mr. Brown's resignation, 1767, Sir William Johnson was made a member of the Society, and he was asked by its members to suggest schemes of Indian conversion. Sir William replied suggesting a mission to the Lower Mohawk Castle, urging that the missionary reside constantly among the Indians, and not have the care of the Albany congregation, as formerly. In December, 1767, the S. P. G. granted £150 for the establishment of a school for Indian

<sup>158</sup>These were three men and three women, whom he afterwards married. They had lived together many years as man and wife according to the Indian custom.

<sup>159</sup>Thomas Brown to Philip Bearcroft, New York, November 15, 1761, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 103. Rev. Mr. Brown asked for a small gratuity for his services. The S. P. G. allowed Mr. Barclay to draw for him.

<sup>160</sup>The Indian, in addition to teaching, had to engage in another occupation to support his family. See two letters written in Latin from Mr. Oël to the Society, one dated November 1, 1761, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), XV, March 19, 1762, and the other July 1, 1762, in *ibid.*, December 17, 1762.

<sup>161</sup>Petition from congregation of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York, May 5, 1764, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 110.

<sup>162</sup>Thomas Brown to Daniel Burton, Albany, July 2, 1766, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 114, see also S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 113. The Controversy started when Mr. Ogilvie, returning to Albany, refused to give Mr. Brown the books belonging to the mission, because the latter did not have his papers under the seal of the S. P. G. Therefore many people believed that the Society disapproved of him.

<sup>163</sup>Thomas Brown to Daniel Burton, Albany, New York, March 24, 1767, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 115.

boys on the Mohawk river. This was to be under the supervision of Sir William Johnson.

In 1767, the vacancy in the Albany mission was filled by the Rev. Harry Munro of Phillipsburgh.<sup>164</sup> Mr. Munro wrote the following favorable account of his work in January 1770,

Baptized during the last half year, sixty eight . . . one Indian adult. . . . In September last I preached at Sir William Johnson's; baptized six, and married one couple. I am now again just returned from visiting Sir William and the Indians at Fort Hunter, where I preached last Sunday, and administered the Sacrament; and am now preparing for another journey to Conojoharee, the Upper Castle, being seventy miles from Albany, there to preach and administer the Sacrament . . . at the request of some old Indians who are communicants, and could not attend at Lower Castle.

Besides these journeys in October last, I made an excursion into the woods, to the eastward of Albany, and visited the new settlements of Langsburg, St. Choack, Shaftsbury, Arlington, Cambden, White Creek, Saratoga, and Stillwater, being a journey of one hundred miles and upwards.<sup>165</sup>

In 1770, Rev. John Stuart, after endorsement by Sir William, was appointed to the Mohawk mission at Fort Hunter. Sir William helped him in every way, had the chapel floor renewed, and provided Mr. Stuart with a new pulpit, reading desk, communion table, windows and a bell.<sup>166</sup>

Sir William did not confine his interest to the work of the Albany mission, but he collaborated with the Rev. Charles Inglis, then assistant in Trinity Church, in working out a scheme for Indian conversion, which did not gain the support of the home government because of more pressing problems.<sup>167</sup> He encouraged the growth of Johnstown close by his own residence of Johnson Hall. A school and church were built

<sup>164</sup>*Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Peter's Parish to John Ogilvie, Albany, February 22, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.). B 3, No. 119; another to Harry Munro, February 22, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 118; and one to Daniel Burton, July 11, 1768, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 120.*

<sup>165</sup>*Harry Munro to Daniel Burton, Albany, January 5, 1770, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 3, No. 270. For interesting glimpses of the religious life on the frontier, and for the obstacles common to all colonial churches, see a recent study by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The Founding of American Civilization, pp. 89-92. (Scribner's, 1938.)*

<sup>166</sup>*S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 2, No. 98. Stuart said that Johnson did everything to render his life agreeable, and his ministry useful.*

<sup>167</sup>*Charles Inglis was at this time, 1770, assistant to Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York, and later was consecrated the First Colonial Bishop. For the career of Rev. Mr. Inglis see John Wolfe Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, His Ministry in America and Consecration as First Colonial Bishop, from 1759-1789; New York; Macmillan, 1936. Reviewed by Frank J. Klingberg in American Historical Review, 42; 558-59, April, 1937.*

in the village and Johnson asked the Society for a clergyman to officiate;<sup>108</sup> at Conojahare he erected the historic chapel for the Mohawks and hired a teacher out of his own funds for the Indians. He engaged in similar noteworthy projects, up to the time of his death on July 11, 1774, which event together with the reverberations of the Revolution close the foregoing brief word of epilogue to the story of the first half century of varied experiment.

Two centuries ago, the missionary sent these first hand, contemporary reports from Upper Castle, Lower Castle, Albany, and elsewhere to London. From these outposts in America during the first half of the eighteenth century, the S. P. G. agents reached the Indian on his own ground, when he was still possessed of his lands and of his tribal organization. Such field reports as these illuminating letters yield facts of social history before tribal life and customs had melted away and before the Iroquois had been ground to pieces by the Anglo-French and Anglo-American conflicts. The startling phrases, "the Mohawks are all going along" (to Canada), and, "the Indians are abroad," or are firing a shot to welcome the missionary after long absence, seize the imagination and sweep the reader along on campaigns of military conquest and on far flung journeys in quest of food. In one capacity, the Indians accompany the troops as invisible advance scouts, independent of compass, or "communications," or a base of supplies, masters of the forests and of distances; while in the other view of their activities, these realistic reports show them as hungry and victims of great hardships when the hunting was poor, and the weather severe. Curious about the white man's God, courteous in their welcome to the itinerant clergymen, they were, nevertheless, if drunken after contact with traders, sullen, dangerous, and unwilling to listen to missionaries and teachers.

Missionary opinion in comparing the Indian with the Negro, early perceived, perhaps without realizing the full import of the matter, that the latter in his industry, his willingness to work, and in his energy, shared in the white man's enterprise and yet appreciably remained himself. His special racial philosophy and his imaginative gifts were to remain his own, while he adapted himself to the white man's world, shared his objectives, aims, and valuations. Lord Hailey, in the recent monumental survey of Africa, finds that the present African folks are in mind and character not unlike other peoples, and clears away much of unfounded legend myth and mistaken reports about the Negro race.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup>Samuel Seabury, the Society's missionary at East and West Chester and later the first American Episcopal bishop, was considered, but Seabury finally declined because of the insecurity of the mission after Johnson's death, and because of an insufficient salary offered to him.

<sup>109</sup>Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, Oxford University Press, 1938.

The firm conviction of Mr. Neau and others that the white man's effort in running "up in the woods after miserable creatures [Indians]" was a lost cause, and that the black and white settlers should be the chief objective, and similar opinions from early Society missionaries elsewhere, show that it was clear to these pioneers from the beginning that the destiny of the Indian was as alien from that of the white man as that of the Negro was identified with it. The Indian herein pictured, as dwindling in numbers from no visible cause, suspicious, alien, fleeing into the woods, frightened by rumors of wars, was to the fact-hunting missionary, both Noble *and* Savage. The observations of these educated men contributed to the cult of natural happiness but also checked the growth of the wholly idealized primitive man of Rousseau and other eighteenth century critics of the ills of civilization. The question, then as now, was, did the American Indian, North of Mexico, while in touch with white races, have sufficient inner motive power and strength to maintain and develop an independent civilization? Early in the eighteenth century the negative answer was being formulated for the Anglo-Saxon world. The North American Indians, even the sturdy Iroquois, as is well known, were too few in number, too different in culture, to resist the on-rushing multiple attack of imperial agents, sharp traders, and land hungry settlers. The devoted missionaries reported but could not prevent the catastrophe. Strategically located for purposes of tribal destruction, the Iroquois benefited from the humanitarian mitigation of the missionaries, but with weight of the other forces against them, even though a viceroy of the strength of Sir William Johnson was on their side, the Indians' fate was sealed. Strong as "the cult of the noble savage" might be in Great Britain, it did not dominate the mood of frontier society. Nevertheless, what has been called the final and Attic tragedy of the North American Indian is here revealed in miniature by the S. P. G. missionary in the first half of the eighteenth century when the Red Man came into a many sided contact with the swarming visitors upon his continent.

In conclusion, attention may be called to what is obvious throughout this study, that the S. P. G. missionaries and teachers were keeping the home front in touch with the far flung frontiers and were inevitably strengthening British humanitarian sentiments in their early stages, a subject reserved for later detailed analysis.

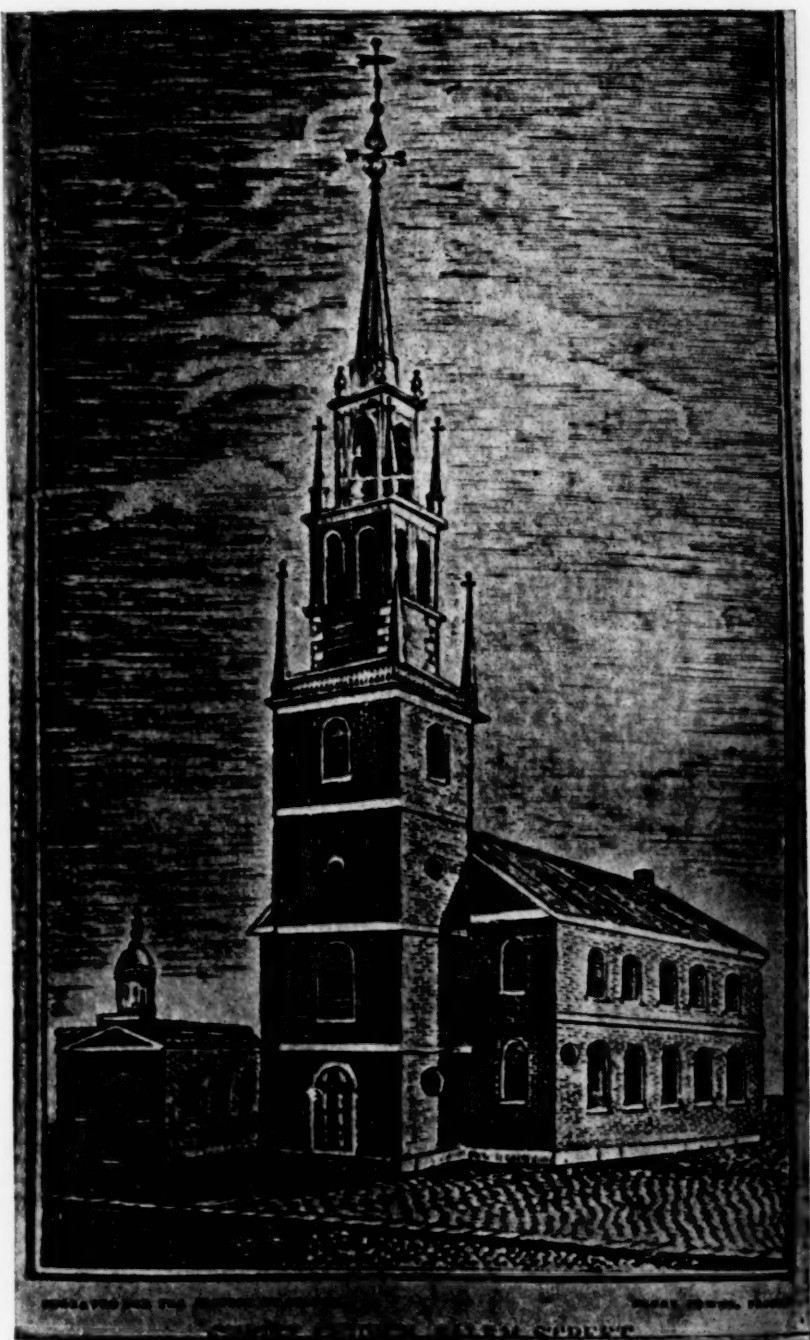
## OLD CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON

*By Mary Kent Davey Babcock*

READERS of Church papers who have followed recent articles on slum clearance around churches, will surely be interested in a like project which has been quietly going on for some years in Boston's North End. In a ward in the oldest part of the city, where the population has reached as high as 30,000, making it one of the world's most congested city areas, stands one of the historic churches of our Communion—Christ Church, Salem Street, the "Old North Church of Paul Revere Fame." Here in 1723 was erected a fine brick church of the purest Christopher Wren type and to it was called as Rector, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, late President of Yale College, who had been "excused" from further service when he had announced his intention to seek Episcopal ordination.

A group of Boston churchmen having raised a fund to send him and Daniel Brown, his assistant, (the entire Yale faculty), with Samuel Johnson, another Connecticut dissenting minister, to England for ordination at the hands of an English bishop, now invited Mr. Cutler to become the rector of a church to be built, the second Episcopal church in Boston. His mission accomplished, Dr. Cutler arrived in Boston in September, 1723, with doctor's degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge and his license as missionary of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. On December 29, 1723, he preached his first sermon in the new church, for which the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of the King's Chapel, had laid the first stone in the preceding April. His text, "My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all people," has been more than fulfilled, for to Christ Church, Salem Street, Boston, come every year more than fifty thousand people from every state in the Union. Moreover, every Sunday morning this church, still with no "parochial bounds", dispenses the word of God according to the Prayer Book as it was begun over two centuries ago.

King George II gave the Communion Silver, still in use, a Prayer Book and "Vinegar" Bible, and the S. P. G. a Parochial Library. In 1736 the parish installed an organ, the second church organ in Boston; four years later a towering wooden spire on the brick steeple; and in 1744 a peal of eight bells, the "first cast for His Majesty's empire in North America". Not only was the spire a landmark for incoming



**CHRIST CHURCH**  
**Boston**  
(From an old engraving)

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vessels, but on April 18, 1775 it served as a signal post where Robert Newman, the sexton, hung the lanterns which sent Paul Revere on his history-making ride "to every Middlesex village and farm."

Built in an almost rural community quite cut off by the sea from Boston proper, in the midst of a homogeneous population mostly of English stock, the parish grew and prospered, adding, as the years rolled by, to its historic associations, while still remaining a parish Church.

Here in 1813 was set up a marble bust of George Washington, the first public memorial to the Father of his Country; here the rector, the Rev. Asa Eaton, in June 1815 established the first Sunday School in these parts, which became under a gifted layman, Joseph Wentworth Ingraham, a model imitated far and wide. Always a populous quarter, the North End of Boston nevertheless remained even far into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the veritable *rus in urbe* which gave such repose of soul to its rector, the Rev. William Croswell, who here was ordained to the priesthood he so eminently adorned.

But with the building of Saint Paul's in 1820, there began a slow drift of population to more fashionable parts of the city, and by 1850 a swarm of Irish immigrants had almost crowded out the Americans from the fine old houses with their pretty gardens on the tree-shaded streets, later turning it into a veritable slum. Then the Irish becoming prosperous, receded before an influx of Russian Jews, quiet, orderly and pious. As a social worker entering Salem Street on late Friday afternoons in 1900, I felt as if I had dropped back into a New England village Saturday evening, when the spinning wheels stilled and the day's chores done, the family awaited the day of rest which began on Saturday at sunset. Glimpses of white-aproned women, sometimes in the act of saying the *licht bentschen* over the Sabbath candle or serving the bearded and hatted men seated at the evening meal, caught my eye as I walked up this Street of Peace, where the silence was broken only by the echoing footsteps of passers-by.

Little things are clues. I began to meet dark-eyed, dark-skinned women wearing crosses as pendants. What did it mean? Just this. They were the first ripples of the incoming wave of Italian immigrants who surged into the port of Boston, up to the Great War, until the North End became a Little Italy, vivid with color, animated by flashing smiles and gestures, the streets swarming with Raphaelesque *bambini* crowded around pushcarts gay with multi-colored vegetables and fruits.

Congestion and sanitary conditions grew worse and worse. One by one Christ Church lost its old parishioners, obliged to retreat before the invading foreigners. The houses surrounding it, by now grimy

hives of swarming laborers, seemed to crowd around it as if to choke its very life, some so near that an outstretched hand could reach from window sill to window sill. By 1912 the ward had become almost entirely Roman Catholic, its churches and parochial schools caring for thousands of children. At this juncture Bishop Lawrence, through a fund raised by him among patriotic citizens, cleaned up the area owned by the church, restored the buildings, church, rectory and sexton's house, to their original lines, he himself becoming Rector of Christ Church. The first wedge in slum clearance in Boston's North End had been driven!

Bishop Lawrence's rectorate was succeeded by that of the Rev. Dr. William Herbert Dewart. He took on a curate for the Italian work in the hope of unearthing possible Waldensians and soon an Italian chapel was built by the late William H. Lincoln and his wife next to the old church, where it continues to flourish. Very early in his rectorate Dr. Dewart dreamed of cutting away the underbrush of tenement houses which surrounded the church, plans were enthusiastically discussed, but the whole project was swallowed up in the national problems arising from the Great War.

When the Rev. Francis E. Webster became Rector in 1930 he settled in the rectory and the slum clearance project was revived. One old house was bought by the proprietors (pew-owners) and torn down as a fire menace. Then the City of Boston, through the George Robert White Fund undertook a clearance by razing a number of old houses back of the church, opening to view the Bulfinch front of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church (once the New North, Congregational) and the east end of Christ Church across the Prado, a park being laid out on the land thus cleared.

Now the Lantern League, Inc., a non-denominational, nation-wide organization has stepped in and so far, by purchase and demolition, has removed five out of the thirteen encroaching tenements which menace Christ Church as a fire hazard and obstruct light and air to the church and surrounding dwellings. The League's primary object is to protect the church, so that it may be not only preserved to posterity as an historic shrine, but also to make possible a continuance of the religious services according to the rites and ceremonies specified in the deed of 1722 to the land on which it stands.

It has repaired and restored every part of the building, lighted by electricity the famous spire, put in an oil heater and established a sprinkler system to the top of the 175 foot spire through the co-operation of the city authorities who extended the high pressure water main to the very door of the Church. It has added to the beauty of the im-

mediate surroundings on the north side by a sunny, spacious Memorial Close, where tablets commemorating historic events are set in the walls.

Although more than 55,000 visitors yearly register here to refresh their patriotism at this national shrine in a quarter where there is not a single Protestant family, many come to worship where every Sunday the word of God is dispensed in this House of Prayer for all People.

In January of this year at the annual meeting of the Proprietors of Christ Church, a further protective measure was taken to insure and safeguard the history and traditions of this venerable parish. By a change in the constitution and by-laws the Bishop of Massachusetts becomes Rector of the parish, thus following the tradition established by Bishop Lawrence at the restoration in 1912. With the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Bishop of Massachusetts, as Rector, the Rev. Francis E. Webster, rector since 1930, as Vicar, and the continued co-operation and support of the Lantern League, the work of slum clearance will go steadily on until Christ Church shall stand out as in its youth, an ensign on a hill which cannot be hid, and the homes surrounding it shall be forever kept open to light and sun and air, the heritage of all God's children.

## DOCUMENTARY HISTORY—TRACTS ON THE LITURGY

*By Thomas M. Spaulding*

THE library of Washington Cathedral has recently received a small collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century pamphlets whose existence and location should be made known to scholars, especially those concerned with church history and liturgics. These pamphlets, grouped under the title, *Tracts on the Liturgy*, were formerly in the library of Alexander Beresford-Hope, who will probably be best remembered in history for his purchase of the ruins of St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury and foundation of a missionary college on the site. The name given to the collection is somewhat too narrow. Some are purely liturgical; others would be better described as doctrinal; and some have considerable historical interest. A partial and perfunctory check with the union catalogue in Washington fails to locate any copy in this country, in some cases, and in some others only a single copy is recorded, commonly in the McAlpin collection in the Union Theological Seminary. Three of the titles beginning with A or B are not in the new British Museum Catalogue, which as yet has progressed only through those two letters. So a considerable proportion of them may reasonably be classed as rare. Their value is another question. That is a matter for research workers to determine, and they can do so only when informed of their location.

There are about eighty separate titles in the lot, along with a few duplicates. Most were printed in London, a few at Oxford, and one at Coventry. The dates range from 1640 to 1781, nearly all being prior to 1745. Up to that date there are only a few large gaps in which no items appear, but there is considerable concentration around certain important periods: the restoration, the revolution, and the years 1718 to 1720, when it seems there was a great agitation concerning the forms of the prayer book and the doctrinal implications of those forms. No less than twenty-five items bear dates falling in this last-mentioned group. Some of these run in series that remind one of the old pleadings at common law, with plea, replication, rejoinder and so on. There are pamphlets entitled *Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers*; *No Sufficient Reason for Restoring*; *Vindication of the Reasons*; *Reply to the Vindication*; *Answer to a Reply to the Vindication*. It does not appear whether or not the *Answer* was the triumphant conclusion of the debate.

These tracts have received only the slightest examination, generally not going much beyond the title page. Among those whose titles suggest some possible value for English history other than strictly religious, are: *Declaration of the Faith and Order in the Congregational Churches*, 1659; *True and Perfect Copy of the Whole Disputation at the Savoy*, 1662; *Brief Account of the new Sect of Latitude-men*, 1662; *Whether a Nonconformist, who hath not taken the Oxford Oath, may come to live at London*, 1669; *Reflections upon a Form of Prayer Lately set forth for the Jacobites*, 1690; *The Church of England's Complaint against the Irregularities of some of its Clergy*, 1709.

The collection has not yet been catalogued, and for the present at least no items can be sent out on inter-library loan, but all are available for examination at the library by competent persons.

## **CHARLES FREDERICK MAMPOTENG**

**MASTER OF ARTS**

**CANDIDATE FOR HOLY ORDERS**

**March 31, 1908 - April 22, 1939**

A valued contributor to **HISTORICAL MAGAZINE**, he was a diligent and careful student of the history of the American Church and excelled in historical research. His loss is grievous, his place difficult to fill.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*A History of Grace Episcopal Church, Hartford, Connecticut, 1863-1898*, by Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D. Pp. 56.

This admirable little history is issued to mark the Seventieth anniversary of the consecration of Grace Church which began as a Mission of Trinity Church, Hartford, having its origin in the establishment of a Sunday School. In interesting fashion Dr. Burr traces the development of the enterprise until it became an independent parish in 1912. There are some excellent pictures and valuable maps. This booklet—if it may be so called—is an illustration of what may be done in many parishes for the preservation of their history, and such histories are invaluable in compiling a history of the American Church at large.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

*Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman*, by Everard M. Upjohn, Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Columbia University. Columbia University Press, New York. 1939. Pp. 245.

Within a stone's throw of where this review is written lies the grave of Richard Upjohn, the eminent architect and devoted churchman. He lies under the shadow of the lovely Highland church which he designed and where in his later years he worshipped. Considering the commanding position he attained in his early manhood it is a remarkable fact that he had no technical training in architecture. The nearest approach was his apprenticeship to Richard Downs of Shaftesbury, England, to be taught the trade of a joiner and cabinet maker during which time his maximum earnings amounted to seventy-five cents a week plus his board and lodging. In 1828 he emigrated to the United States and records the fact in a letter to his son that "we walked up Broadway, your mother with pattens on her feet and a baby in her arms". His destination was Manlius, New York, where he arrived with "3 silver dollars" in his pocket. At New Bedford he worked as a draftsman for one dollar a day. There in 1833 he advertised

"Architectural Plans and Elevations,  
Neatly Executed at Short Notice, By  
Richard Upjohn.

Thus began his career as an architect. The next five years were spent in Boston, where he came in contact with the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, rector of Trinity Church. His first real commission to design a church was that of St. John's, Bangor, Maine, which had more than a suggestion of Gothic. In 1838 the roof of the second Trinity Church, of which Dr. Wainwright had become rector, was discovered to be in a dangerous condition, and in 1839 Upjohn writes in a letter: "March 29—was sent for by persons from this city in regard to certain repairs then about to be made on the former Trinity Church edifice." Though perhaps not apparent at the time, that was the turning point in his career. It being determined to build a new church, the commission was given to Upjohn. It resulted in what Dr. Kenneth Conant, President of Harvard, calls in his introduction to this volume, "perhaps the earliest, and certainly one of the most satis-

factory, examples of the strict Gothic Revival in America". It had a far-reaching influence and revolutionized ecclesiastical architecture in this country. From first to last Richard Upjohn was a churchman, and his churchmanship influenced his architectural work. In a day when shallow chancels were dominant, he realized that deep chancels were essential to a high church service, and he fought long and hard for an unusually deep chancel for the new Trinity Church. It was likewise due to his persistence that the spire was topped with a cross instead of a weather-vane, which some members of the Vestry desired. When he was commissioned to draw plans for a Unitarian church in Boston, he replied, "that after having anxiously and prayerfully considered the matter, he had come to the conclusion that he could not conscientiously furnish a plan for a Unitarian Church, he being an Episcopalian". This volume is more than a biography; it is a valuable compendium of the development of ecclesiastical architecture in America in the nineteenth century. Its style is admirable and it is enriched with more than a hundred photographs of Upjohn's work.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

*A Description of the Manuscript Collections in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library.* Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, Boston. 1939. 81 mimeographed pages of which 17 comprise the Index.

The Historical Records Survey of the W. P. A. was set up in January, 1936, with emphasis being first placed upon the survey of public records. Late in 1937 the survey of manuscripts and private papers was undertaken. If this volume is a fair sample of the fruits of the Historical Records Survey, then the whole project is a distinctly constructive contribution to American history and scholarship.

The *Description* covers more than 20,000 letters, documents, diaries, church records, and other material of the Massachusetts Diocesan Library. "A student of history will find in these manuscripts not only the story of the growth of the Episcopal Church from its beginnings in Massachusetts in 1688 up to the present time, but also reflection of the issues, controversies, and opinions of the day."

The listing was made primarily by Mrs. Edith Richards. The editing, compiling, and indexing was done by Ethel L. Wood, Cora F. Holbrook, and other members of the staff under the direction of Kelsey Ballou Sweatt, assistant state director, with the cooperation of project officials in Washington, particularly Mrs. Margaret S. Eliot, editor-in-chief of manuscript inventories.

Following the preface which contains a succinct outline of the history of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts by Carl J. Wennerblad, state director, a brief history of the library itself by Ann Maria Mitchell is given. Our readers are referred to Miss Mitchell's fuller account of the library's history in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VII. (Sept., 1938) pp. 277-286.

The volume is divided into the following main divisions:

1. Papers of bishops of Massachusetts—Bass, Parker, Griswold, Eastburn, Paddock, Brooks, Lawrence, Slattery, and Sherrill.
2. Papers of Abraham Jarvis, bishop of Connecticut.
3. Archives of the diocese of Massachusetts and its various officers, boards, and institutions, including valuable minutes of early conventions.

4. Papers of Boston Episcopal churches.
5. Papers and data of churches in Massachusetts and in other states—Connecticut, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont.
6. Miscellaneous personal papers.
7. Index.

The Bass, Parker, Griswold, and Abraham Jarvis papers appear to be of special importance in that they cover the most critical years of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts and America. The Jarvis papers contain minutes of conventions of the Connecticut clergy for 1774, 1776, and 1789, which have never (so far as we know) been published.

Among the miscellaneous personal papers the following appear particularly rich:

William Clark papers, 1765-1815, 3 vols., 75 pieces.

William Fobes Gavet papers, 4 vols., 1000 pieces, covering the years 1733-1908.

Edmund F. Slafter papers, 4 vols., 812 pieces, covering the years 1740-1902.

The Massachusetts Diocesan Library is a model for diocesan libraries of the Episcopal Church. This *Description* of its manuscript collections, in addition to being an indispensable aid to research students, is a well deserved recognition of this library's importance.

—WALTER HERBERT STOWE

*Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations, Washington.* The Historical Records Survey of the District of Columbia. W. P. A. 1939.

In 1936 the Historical Records Survey was instituted as a branch of the Works Progress Administration. It has done valuable work, notably in Massachusetts, that report being reviewed in this number of the Magazine. The survey of the churches and religious organizations in the District of Columbia is good as far as it goes. But it is limited to listing the various churches and ministers and their organizations, including the Federation of Churches, with its officers and delegates making up its constituency, and it indexes the clergy and laity mentioned in the text. As a Directory, it is excellent, but there its usefulness ends. It is hoped that the work will be continued so as to include at least an outline of the history of these churches, and some indication of their archives.

*All in the Day's Work. An Autobiography,* by Ida M. Tarbell. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. 407.

"The Day's Work" for Miss Tarbell has covered eighty-two years, and judging from this fascinating account, full of human interest and amazing variety. She has played many parts—one of the first women to go to college in America, where she was a lonely freshman in a class of forty hostile boys; a teacher in an Academy at \$500 a year "and board yourself"; a contributor to *The Chautuakan*; a free lance journalist in Paris, waging a gallant fight against poverty till *Scribner's Magazine* accepted a short story. The

turning point in her career was the printing of an article by the McClure Syndicate, which led to a twenty year editorial connection with McClure's Magazine, for which she wrote sketches of such men as Pasteur. Returning to America she wrote a biography of Napoleon and a two volume life of Abraham Lincoln. Her early childhood in the newly discovered oil fields of Pennsylvania laid the broad foundation for her celebrated work on the Standard Oil Company, over which she labored for five long years. And so the story of this varied life runs, a story full of charm. The last chapter is significant, for there she indulges in a discriminating reflection of the past as she has known it, and the future as she sees it. In spite of the fact that she once feared "that we were raising our standard of living at the expense of our standard of character", at eighty-two she is an incurable optimist. The book closes with these words:

"Once more I am curious. It is an armchair curiosity—no longer can I go out and see for myself; but that has its advantages. It compels longer reflection, intensifies the conviction that taking time, having patience, doing one thing at a time are the essentials for solid improvement, for finding answers. Perhaps, I tell myself, I may from an armchair find better answers than I have yet found to those questions which set me at my day's work, the still unanswered questions of the most fruitful life for women in civilization, the true nature of revolutions, even the mystery of God. It is the last of the three which disturbs me least. The greatest of mysteries, it has become for me the greatest of realities."

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.